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The Shape of Things

FRANCO HAS BORROWED $30,000,000 MORE from American banks but again on terms which indicate that Spain is not considered a good risk in Wall Street. The Chase National Bank, which lent $25,000,000 to Spain last year, has extended this loan and added another $5,000,000, said to be for the purchase of wheat. Chase's friendly competitor, the National City Bank of New York, has weighed in with $25,000,000. Both loans are fully secured by gold deposited either in London or New York: indeed, it has been reported that interest as well as principal is covered in this fashion. In other words, these are pawn-broking rather than banking transactions. The shareholders of the banks cannot complain, therefore, except on grounds of general political decency; their managers have acted in accordance with the hoary adage *pecunia non olet*. The business has not disturbed banking nostrils and, indeed, 2.5 per cent with perfect security is not to be sneezed at these days. However, Franco will not be able to obtain many more driblets of dollars in this manner, for the Bank of Spain's gold holdings now appear to be less than $55,000,000. No doubt he is hoping that these new loans will stave off trouble long enough for his Washington lobbyists to persuade the American government to come to his rescue with an unsecured loan from the Export-Import Bank. But if his agents are holding out hopes of this kind, they are, we suspect, misleading him for the sake of their expense accounts. The hard-boiled managers of the Export-Import Bank, who are bound by law not to lend their funds unless there is a reasonable chance of repayment, do not regard Spain's credit standing any more highly than Wall Street does.

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ALL THIS MIGHT BE CHANGED, OF COURSE, if the defense ministers of the Atlantic Pact nations, now meeting at The Hague, decide to include Spain in their over-all strategic plan for Western Europe. Correspondents covering the conference agree that Secretary of Defense Johnson has been urging the necessity of air bases in the Iberian peninsula for the strategic bombing of Russia, while the British representatives strongly oppose the idea and France appears uncertain and reluctant. Since the sessions are closed and the press must depend on communiqués issued after each session, the report cannot be verified. But Mr. Johnson, questioned by reporters, only said the problem of bases in Spain had not been on the agenda. Asked whether it had been discussed informally, he declined to answer. In Washington, the State Department denied that it knew anything of such a plan. However, State and Defense policies are often sharply at variance, as was evident last fall when Admiral Richard L. Conolly and several ships of the Mediterranean fleet paid a courtesy call on Franco. At that time, the State Department also disclaimed any part in the affair, although foreign policy was obviously being made by the Navy Department. So, today, should the defense ministers have decided on bases in Spain, the State Department would be forced to drop even its present mild objections to the Franco regime; and if that happens, loans will inevitably follow, risk or no risk.

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CONGRESSMAN FOGARTY HAS ENJOYED HIS little joke, the House of Representatives has made a spectacle of itself (the phrase is Representative Cox's), the demagogues have had their day, and now we can calmly estimate the damage. It was generally understood in the United States, of course, that when the House voted to make Irish unity a condition of further aid to Britain, it was, as several Congressmen subsequently explained, merely having a bit of "good clean fun." There was virtually no chance that this amendment to the foreign-aid bill would survive the record vote which was to follow. But in the midst of a desperate psychological war, the "joke" was roughly comparable to blowing up one of our own munition dumps in a fighting war, just to hear the noise. Europeans and Asiatics have for several years been under a ceaseless barrage of Russian propaganda to the effect that the Marshall Plan is nothing but an instrument of United States imperialism. It will not be easy for the Voice of America to convince these people that the House action was not dollar diplomacy but merely two-bit politics.

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GORDON GRAY'S LAST IMPORTANT ACT AS Secretary of the Army was to approve an order abolishing race quotas for army enlistments. It is to the credit of the man who soon will become president of the Uni-

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versity of North Carolina that during his administration three major steps were taken toward elimination of Jim Crow in the ground forces. Full application of the anti-Jim Crow policy may take considerable time. One of the Defense officials put it this way: "There are those who want effective application made at once, others who want it made next year, and some who prefer to delay until the twenty-first century." But the policy is clear at last. There is to be no discrimination against Negroes in training for preferred services in the army; there is to be no discrimination against trained Negroes in placing them in assignments; there is to be no race quota for enlistments. The last order went out to all commanders on March 27: effective April 1, the 10 per cent quota on Negro enlistments was dead. The air force deserves praise for much of the progress in the army—and also the navy. Last year, when the President's Committee on Equality of Opportunity and Treatment in the Armed Services recommended the abolition of Jim Crow, the air force began its program for the steady integration of Negro and white personnel. This integration is now from 60 to 70 per cent complete. The success of this operation forced the army and navy to examine their own records—and Gray, a man of intelligence and integrity, was not afraid to ask the questions nor to act on the answers when they became clear.

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PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S CHARACTERISTIC stubbornness should stand him in good stead when the Kerr bill is handed to him for a signature. When the Moore-Rizley bill, forerunner of the Kerr measure, was up for consideration in the Eightieth Congress, the President left no doubt about where he stood. He was dead set against any proposal to weaken the regulatory controls of the Federal Power Commission in the natural-gas industry. Proponents of the Kerr bill, which was squeezed through the Senate last week by a vote of 44 to 38 and through the House by 176 to 174, have been circulating rumors that he has modified his stand, and they suggest that changes in the proposed legislation will allow him to save face. We see no reason to credit the rumors, but we are certain there will be no saving of face if they should prove correct. The changes are minor and meaningless. Where the Moore-Rizley bill would have freed from price regulation *all* the gas entering interstate pipelines, the Kerr bill exempts only the non-transporting producers, or so-called "independents." But since these constitute 86 per cent of the total, it is obvious that there would be little left to regulate. The only other allegedly important change is the "watch-dog clause," which gives the FPC the privilege of looking out for price-fixing among the producers, without the power to do anything but report their discoveries to Congress. The President, we assume, is not as easily taken in as all that.

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This bill, which, its opponents say, will cost the consumer of natural gas an additional $100,000,000 a year, is part of a deliberate pattern to put over the program of Big Oil—a program that started with the fight for tideland oil and went on to bring about the ouster of Federal Power Commissioner Leland Olds. If the Kerr bill becomes law, it will be the first successful assault by a public utility on American consumers since the advent of the New Deal. That would be no boon to the Democrats, come November.

*

ON APRIL 2, THE PRIME MINISTERS OF INDIA and Pakistan, Jawaharlal Nehru and Liaquat Ali Khan, met in New Delhi to agree on methods of ending the Hindu-Moslem tension which has cost hundreds of lives in East and West Bengal since the beginning of the year. We write before there is definite news of the outcome of this conference, but it is known that one move under consideration is a joint declaration by the two leaders expressing their determination to deal firmly both with rioters and those who inspire them. It is to be hoped that action on these lines will cool the passions on both sides. As we all know, Nehru is a man of peace who has worked hard to discourage communal strife, and the Pakistani Premier also appears eager for a settlement of his nation's quarrels with India. But both men have to contend with the pressure of extremists. Thus in India the general secretary of the Mahasabha—the right-wing orthodox Hindu society—has been openly calling for war and, regrettably, he seems to have won the support of some Congress Party members who have forgotten the principles of Gandhi. This talk of a military solution is wicked. Nothing could be more fatal for the peoples of both countries than an armed conflict which would wreck their economies and probably lead to famine on a gigantic scale. Even the present veiled state of hostility is inflicting back-breaking burdens, with both India and Pakistan devoting half their budgets to their armed services at a time when economic warfare is resulting in huge mutual losses. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the present talks of the two Prime Ministers will extend beyond the immediate issue of Bengal pacification to the discovery of a *modus vivendi* that will enable these potentially great countries to concentrate on the tasks of economic development and social reform.

*

LEON BLUM WAS FIRST OF ALL A MAN OF profound culture and a humanist. Only second was he a political leader. He cared more for the qualities that make life rich in civilized satisfactions than for any partisan advantages. It was this characteristic that colored his whole career as Socialist and statesman, giving him an authority out of all proportion to the power of his party. His death at this time is a great loss to France, for Blum, even in his old age, symbolized the firm rejection of tyranny and adherence to liberal precepts that are threatened today by the passionate claims of left and right. It is true that temperamental aversion to violence sometimes led Blum into compromises he afterward regretted; one such was his refusal to allow the Popular Front government which he headed to give aid to the Spanish Republicans after the start of the Franco rebellion in 1936. His fear of a fascist putsch in France outweighed, in that critical moment, the obligation to help stem the fascist drive in Spain. Recently, too, his desire to shore up the centrist coalition in France led him to advise compromises on the part of the Socialist ministers which undoubtedly helped weaken the appeal of the party among the workers—and by the same token to favor the rise of the very forces he most feared. But no one, not even his critics, questioned the moral force of Blum's philosophy or the value of his example. Apart from everything else, his magnificent defense at the Riom trial—which caused Hitler to call off the proceedings—and his calm endurance of years of imprisonment by the Nazis established his place as a leader of the democratic forces of his country.

*

RECENTLY THE ECA, SEEKING TO IMPROVE the output of Greek dried figs, requested the California Fig Institute for information on the construction and operation of fumigation centers. The fig growers of California are all out for international cooperation, One World, and the Marshall Plan, but they are not "out" quite this far. "We are not in the mood," replied the managing director of the institute, "to contribute anything of our skill or knowledge to producers in foreign countries who most certainly will use this information in competition with us." It would be quite erroneous to conclude from this communication, however, that the California fig owners are selfish or self-centered. Beyond all doubt, they would support generously a program under which American funds might be used to rip out the fig orchards of Greece and then to pay the Greeks not to raise figs.

*

A DILIGENT READER ADVISES US THAT ON reading our editorial, Pleasantville Politics [*The Nation*, February 18], he promptly canceled his subscription to *Reader's Digest*, giving our comments as the reason. The editorial briefly discussed John T. Flynn's bitter and grotesque diatribe, "The Road Ahead," in which social planners are indiscriminately branded "assassins," and described the elaborately favorable way in which the *Digest* presented its condensation. In particular, we

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called attention to the blurbs which preceded the text, one of which, attributed to the New York *Times*, hailed the book as one of the two "most important books about the contemporary American scene that we will have this year." We also took the liberty of pointing out that the *Times* review, but not the *Digest* blurb, went on to explain that they were important as the "most extreme manifestations of an endemic hysteria presently affecting a considerable segment of our society." For what it is worth, we pass along the information that our reader received a reply from the *Digest* containing the following admission: "It is true that the quotation was so truncated as to give an erroneous impression . . ."

Appeasement's Tragedy

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE political meaning of the little cold war in Washington is clearly explained in our Washington letter on the opposite page. The McCarthy foray is not just for personal plunder or notoriety; it is, more importantly, a maneuver to swing control of the Republican national machine to those isolationist-nationalist leaders described by Mr. Shelton as the "new irresponsibles." Whether it will finally succeed is still uncertain, but the chances seem to favor it. The recent excellent statements by Senator Vandenberg and Mr. Stimson sounded a note that can hardly be sustained by the handful of Republican members who follow them, especially with Bridges and Wherry echoing the fanatical slanders of McCarthy and Taft smugly endorsing the whole obscene performance. Nor are the late and half-hearted efforts of the State Department to revive bipartisanship in foreign policy likely to check a movement which draws its strength from such deep-rooted political motives.

What is far more probable is a gradual retreat on the part of the Administration, an attempt not so much to appease the McCarthyites—though this is surely a factor—as to offer shining proof to an anxious, puzzled people that it is able to match any Republican die-hard in restrictions and war preparations and general hysteria. In other words, whether Senator McCarthy "stands or falls" as the result of his reckless lies, he and his colleagues will have won their cold war against a liberal foreign policy and a sane handling of the problem of security.

We saw the first signs of the State Department's strategic retreat, even before the McCarthy raid got under way, when Mr. Acheson announced his readiness to restore an ambassador to Franco Spain. That this unfortunate gesture was intended to offset the effect of the Knowland attack on the department's China policy was admitted by all observers. After that came Mr. Acheson's series of statements asserting the inflexibility of the Administration's stand on the hydrogen bomb, on the futility of further talks with Russia, on the need for "total diplomacy." There followed the seven-point speech in California and the unsupported assertion that Russian intrigue was solely responsible for the victory of the Chinese reds—a verdict wholly unjustified by the facts previously published by the State Department itself. And closely coupled with all this was the Administration's dual decision to offer further material help to Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa and continue to withhold recognition from the Communist government, which now controls every square foot of China's soil. The failure of the Security Council to follow Secretary General Lie's sage advice and ease the Chinese Nationalists out of the United Nations was certainly due to Washington's attitude, whether or not direct pressure was brought on the wavering members of that body.

These items are part of a general program, rapidly crystallizing, which seems aimed at fighting the cold war with the familiar weapons of propaganda, internal discipline, and threat. And while much of it undoubtedly is a response to Russian provocations, or to our expectation of Russian provocations to come, still more in my belief is a subtle, almost unwilling concession to the mood of terror created by the Republican die-hards. It is they, not Stalin, who are being appeased, while they shout "treason" and "Communist" and "pro-Russian." This, after all, is an election year and the President and Secretary of State have no desire to face the next two years with Congress in the hands of their enemies. Besides which, there is a Senate fight immediately ahead on both E. R. P. and Point Four. And so the Administration focuses its foreign-policy efforts on a few basic points and yields ground everywhere else. It will stand up for its own officials who are directly traduced by McCarthy; but will it also defend men outside the federal service who have helped it with expert knowledge and advice? Will it say what needs to be said: for example, that the truth about the revolution in Asia was gathered and published by Professor Lattimore and a few others like him and that a realistic policy in China would have taken full account of that immense movement and tried to work with rather than against it?

As for Russia, it continues to talk peace, proclaim the "inevitability of the co-existence of the systems of communism and capitalism"—to quote Harrison E. Salisbury in the New York *Times*—and call for new efforts to regularize relations between itself and the United States. At the same time, it encourages the mass youth demonstration—for peace of course—in Berlin and denounces the machinations of American imperialism working through E. R. P., the Atlantic Pact, and eventually through Point Four. Russia's advantage is that it offers to discuss a settlement; our disadvantage, that we

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refuse to do so. Russia urges new negotiations for a new plan of international atomic control; we insist that the old one is still valid and needs no changes. With Messrs. McCarthy, Wherry, Bridges, and Taft calling the steps, we move still farther into a maze of contradictions based on fear. If this goes on, the end can only be war, and if war comes, neither communism nor capitalism, neither McCarthyism nor Trumanism will survive to rule a ruined world. It is toward this end that the Republican "irresponsibles" are chivvying a harried Administration.

Atomic Censorship

THREE weeks ago, the *Scientific American* received a telegram from the Atomic Energy Committee demanding that it withhold from its April issue—then on the presses—the technical half of an article on the hydrogen bomb by H. A. Bethe of Cornell University, an outstanding nuclear physicist. The AEC conceded that everything in the article had been published before and that it disclosed no secret data. The objection was to the author; the commission held that whatever was said by Dr. Bethe, who was at Los Alamos during the war and is now an AEC consultant, would be regarded abroad as an authoritative reflection of America's hydrogen-bomb program. The *Scientific American* agreed to allow the commission to review the article, and stopped the presses. Eventually, the AEC's demands were scaled down to the deletion of four paragraphs, and an AEC representative went to the printing plant to supervise the melting of the offending type and the burning of 3,000 copies of the magazine already printed.

Had the editors refused to comply, they would not only have risked being branded "disloyal" but also would have been confronted with an injunction to halt distribution of their April issue. The Atomic Energy Act authorizes such injunctions "whenever in the judgment of the commission any person has engaged or is about to engage in any acts or practices which constitute or will constitute a violation of any provision of this act, or any regulation or order issued thereunder." A "restricted" classification had meanwhile been slapped on parts of the Bethe article through a peremptory order issued a few days previously by General Manager Carroll L. Wilson to all AEC employees and employees of AEC contractors. This order prohibited "discussion of thermonuclear weapons with unauthorized persons regardless of classification of the information."

The commission has since back-tracked a little. A second memorandum, sent out by Wilson on March 20, apologizes for the abrupt tone of his earlier pronouncement and asserts that the ban is meant to apply only to the bomb's technical aspects. Nevertheless, the AEC has committed in peacetime an act of censorship such as not even the army attempted in wartime and has set up the principle that it is not only what is said that is censorable but who says it.

No government agency has ever had the authority to obtain injunctions against newspapers or magazines printing something the agency disliked. The chances are that the injunctive clause was slipped into the Atomic Energy Act in a moment of legislative carelessness. The use of the AEC's injunctive power as a censorship device is plainly unconstitutional. However, until this is made explicitly clear by new legislation, the temptation to use it in this way will remain.

No less intolerable and legally dubious is the application of blanket censorship to individuals who happen to be connected in some way with the AEC. To begin with, it is apparently not to be applied generally, for the very next week, according to the editors of the *Scientific American*, Robert Fox Bacher, a former member of the commission, publicly said many of the things deleted from the Bethe article. The Administration is reported to be still angry over the volume and tone of the public discussion of the hydrogen bomb and would like to see it ended, perhaps in order to silence criticism of the decision to proceed with the super-bomb. With the Bethe incident as a precedent to go by, nuclear scientists are likely to hesitate a long time before they discuss even the least "sensitive" facts about American policy and hydrogen explosives.

The New Irresponsibles

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, March 30

THE most significant fact emerging from "Jumping Joe" McCarthy's shifty charges against the State Department is the extent to which the Republican Party is falling into the hands of its right-wing demagogues —including at present that gentleman of widely-advertised integrity, Senator Robert A. Taft.

Put aside, for the moment, the fact that the reputations of innocent persons are blasted by the publication of charges against them before they have a chance to reply. Put aside the fact that a situation has been created in America where the first duty of the most obscure government official is to declaim how much he hates the Communists, how bitterly he has always opposed the Russians, how steadfastly he supports the President's loyalty program. Put aside the fact that calm public discussion of the issues involved in the loyalty program has now been made almost impossible. Put aside the harm done to American foreign policy by the "Get

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Acheson!" campaign. Put aside the fact that Mr. Acheson himself is constantly being forced into appeasing Republican desires that "pressure" be brought against our European allies in behalf of the Far Eastern policy demanded by the G. O. P. Put aside the fact that Mr. Acheson's own policy—the doctrine of the "missing component"—profoundly involves the future of American influence and prestige all over Asia, and that intelligent discussion of this doctrine is now hamstrung.

All this aside, the disturbing central point is still that right-wing Republican leaders—those men whose neo-isolationist "economy" drive on the E. R. P. and Point Four programs meshes smoothly into the unreconstructed isolationism of the Chicago *Tribune*, and who most bitterly yearn to reverse the New Deal verdicts of seventeen years—are now in apparently complete control of their party.

A very few Republicans of stature have dared to challenge the strategy and program approved by the ruling triumvirate of Taft, Wherry, and Martin. Elder statesman Henry L. Stimson wrote a flaming letter to the New York *Times*. Senator Vandenberg returned briefly to the fray to demand a high-level bipartisan approach to plans for a program after ECA. Senator Flanders of Vermont dissociated himself from the "Get Acheson!" campaign. Senators Saltonstall of Massachusetts and Morse of Oregon expressed their distaste for McCarthy's behavior, and Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.—a member of the sub-committee investigating McCarthy's charges—demonstrated little enthusiasm for smear tactics and hit-and-run techniques. But Stimson, as an elder statesman, can no longer do battle on a sustained basis, and Vandenberg for weeks has been unable to attend Senate sessions. Most of the responsible Republican leaders *in* Congress are encouraging and abetting McCarthy.

Many of them have played, McCarthywise, with the words "pervert" and "twisted" and "subversive"—used interchangeably. They have tolerated McCarthy's bland shift from a charge that "card-carrying Communists" in the State Department were known to Acheson to a charge that various accused persons were "bad policy risks."

They have ignored McCarthy's retreat from an accusation that Lattimore was Russia's "top espionage agent" in the State Department to his hedging Senate address in which he said: "I may have placed too much stress on the question of whether or not [Lattimore] is a paid espionage agent."

They have not rebuked McCarthy for his failure to announce that he would either prove or retract his charges against Judge Dorothy Kenyon, Mrs. Esther Caukin Brunauer, and Haldore Hanson, who exposed themselves to prosecution for perjury if they lied in publicly swearing that they were not and had never been Communists. Nor have they criticized McCarthy's slick trick of lifting phrases or paragraphs from context to "prove" charges, although McCarthy himself in many cases has not attempted to defend his unscrupulous use of these words.

As of this date, the cautious Senate Republican policy committee has refused to recognize McCarthy's activities as orthodox party doctrine. But it has done everything short of this. Senator Taft, with one eye on November, has not denied the report that he advised McCarthy to keep bringing up charge after charge in the obvious hope that somewhere he might strike election-year pay dirt.

Upon his return from Afghanistan, Lattimore issued a statement in which he denied present or past membership in the Communist Party and denounced McCarthy as a "madman" who deserved a Soviet medal for his aid

LOOKING BACKWARD

Twenty-five Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE life of a college professor, once regarded as one of serenity and security, is anything but that nowadays. He is assailed by preachers and patriots, by busybodies and Bryans, until his only safety lies in not having any opinions and in confining his teaching to the multiplication table. During the last few years there have been at least three lines of attack upon the independence and self-respect of teachers both in our colleges and in the public schools. During and after our participation in the World War there was a surveillance of teachers with a view to driving out those of pro-German, pacifist, or radical sympathies. This ate into institutions of even the highest scholastic standing, like Columbia University, and later led to the iniquitous Lusk bills—fortunately defeated—for the control of public-school teachers in New York. Then there developed the attack upon text books of American history and their writers, aimed in general at the suppression of all facts—no matter how well authenticated—which tended to "belittle" the heroes or exploits of the Revolutionary War. In response to this attack a good many publishers—more careful for profits than for their integrity—modified their textbooks. Finally came the medieval attack upon modern science, which led to widespread meddling, including a state law against text books teaching evolution in Tennessee and a ruling by the North Carolina state Board of Education that evolution should not be taught in the public schools. Now the circle seems to have been completed and the heresy-hunters have come back to the attack upon teachers of radical or progressive tendencies. . . . If this kind of thing is allowed to go on, every teacher of ideas and intelligence will soon withdraw or be driven out of the profession; there will be nobody left except the dunderheads too timid or stupid to arouse the fears of any political or religious bigot.—*April 8, 1925.*

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to Russian foreign policy. On April 6, he will appear before the Senate committee. Tacticians connected with the Senate Republican campaign committee believe, however, that as of now McCarthy has "helped the party." The people object to "perverts," they say. The ordinary voter, they point out, "doesn't like the State Department anyway" and is inclined to read the headlines and decide something is wrong. So they are fairly content with McCarthy's operations—putting aside whatever personal reservations they may have about fairness and propriety.

The President himself was compelled in Key West to defend Acheson and criticize McCarthy, and to hint that he would carry the whole thing to the country.

The Republican leaders have not honestly stated that much of McCarthy's ranting involves a matter of judgment on China and Formosa policy—not "loyalty" or espionage or communism. By following McCarthy, they have given their own decision to support Chiang Kai-shek's government against the Communist-led revolution which whipped him the status of a major issue. Never mind that much of the remainder of once-colonial Asia is in flames, and that we should walk quietly and think clearly while deciding how best to encourage Asiatic trust in our purposes. McCarthy has made it fashionable to intimate that if a State Department official questions this G. O. P. policy, he is either "soft toward Communism," or a pervert, or a deluded fellow-traveler, or a spy.

Some of the liberal reporters here used to make fun of Vandenberg's air of importance when he took the Senate floor to deliver himself of a speech supporting a sane and constructive foreign policy. The performances of Wherry, McCarthy, and Taft, unrestrained by any foreign-policy spokesman of prestige, suggests that a replacement for Vandenberg is badly needed.

Leopold—or Prosperity

BY FRED W. RIGGS

THE political crisis over the return of King Leopold III in Belgium comes at a time when the country can little afford to be distracted from the major economic task which it must now face. It is no coincidence that the strikes called by the Socialist-controlled Belgian Confederation of Labor were most successful in the highly industrialized centers of Liege, Charleroi, and Mons in the heart of the Walloon country. The workers in those cities were hardest hit by the economic squeeze into which Belgium has drifted. Steel production, for example, has fallen from a peak of 416,000 metric tons in March, 1949, to 269,000 in November. A small recovery in December to 288,000 metric tons is not very impressive. With the British and French steel industries achieving new records in production and exports, it is clear that Belgium's competitive position is weakened. Unemployment rose to a new high of 309,000 in January, in comparison with the relatively modest total of 68,000 during 1947.

The reason for this slump will not be found in discussions about free enterprise versus socialism. Belgium, while avowedly a laissez-faire country, has various economic controls and one of the most extensive and expensive social-insurance systems. The core of the economic problem in Belgium, as in other countries, is to be found elsewhere—in the terribly real factors of population, natural resources, industrial plant, the extent of war damage or indebtedness, and in trade and fiscal policies.

Belgium is a small country with a large population, the average distribution being 700 persons per square mile, compared to 44 in the United States and 197 in France. It has important coal deposits which, however, are more expensive to mine as they approach depletion. Iron ore for the steel industry must be imported. Under these circumstances, Belgium traditionally supported itself by exporting manufactured goods, chiefly to European countries, and importing needed raw materials, many of them from the United States. Belgium never sold us enough to pay for these imports; the deficit was made up by converting European revenues into dollars.

When World War II ended, the whole picture changed. Belgium, with its largely undamaged factories, was able to make a quick comeback. It furnished steel and machinery for European recovery. The general inflation in other countries compared with the rapid stabilization of currency at home made Belgium a relatively cheap market in which to buy. The disappearance of German competition and the critical world shortage of machinery and steel created willing customers at almost any price, although they could not provide dollars to finance Belgium's imports from America.

Since some customers could not immediately pay for all their purchases, Belgium granted them credits during 1946 and 1947. This obviously could not continue indefinitely. Furthermore, Belgium was not earning dollars which it urgently needed. During 1948-49, for ex-

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ample, it is estimated that its surplus from sales to non-dollar markets was $314,500,000 while its dollar deficit was $402,400,000. The Marshall Plan helped by providing conditional dollar aid to be matched against drawing rights which Belgium made available to its European debtors. But the Marshall Plan is nearing its end and Belgium must find other ways to balance its international accounts.

Even if other European countries could—through the projected payments union and through increased exports to the dollar area—pay Belgium in hard money, the problem would remain, for Belgian sales are steadily declining. High domestic costs of production and rising production in other countries have brought Belgium face to face with a buyers' rather than a sellers' market.

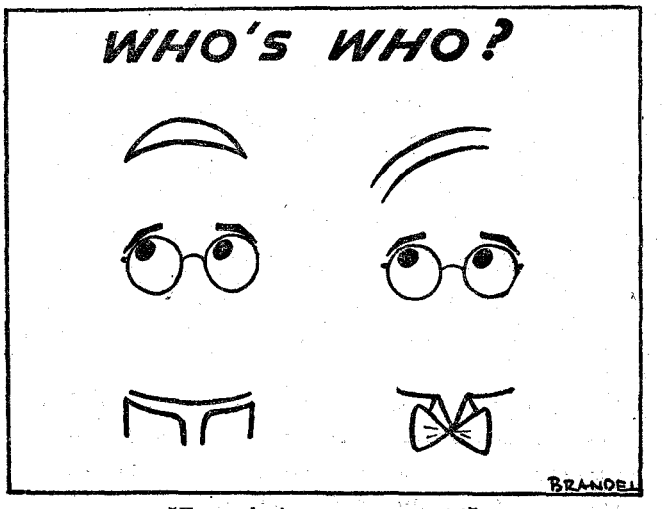
One of the most important reasons for the high production costs is the fact that after the war Belgium spent an unusually large portion of its national income on wages and consumers' goods—hence the bulging shops—putting little into new factories or improved machinery and less into savings accounts. Although it is true that this helped to prevent wasteful strikes—the Belgians said it was an investment in labor—it is doubtful if productivity yet exceeds pre-war levels. In 1947 it was 80 per cent below the 1938 standard. While other countries were rigorously saving and pinching themselves through austerity programs in order to build up their productive resources, the Belgians were spending almost all they made on consumers' goods.

The extent to which the trade decline has already set in may be judged by the fall of total exports from 7,056,000,000 francs in December, 1948, to 6,331,000,000 francs in December, 1949. For the whole of 1949, it is true, exports were some 5,000,000,000 francs more than in 1948 and imports 6,300,000,000 francs less, with the result that the merchandise deficit declined from 12,900,000,000 francs to 1,600,000,000. The most recent monthly figures, however, suggest that the gap between foreign sales and purchases is again widening. Since wholesale prices had fallen by November, 1949, to 93 per cent of the 1948 average, it is apparent that the decline in volume and profits was even more severe than the fall in total value of exports.

Increased unemployment was therefore inevitable. Under a controlled economy, it might have been hidden by spreading the work over the whole population. But the real situation was such that there could not be full employment of resources without a basic readjustment of the economy to take into account world supply and demand patterns. Belgium has, of course, met the situation with its unemployment-insurance system and, according to the *Foreign Commerce Weekly* of January 28, it has lately substantially increased its investment program. Some 5,500,000,000 francs are being provided in loans to the Association for Low Cost Housing and to private builders, in addition to 8,000,000,000 francs which has been allotted to a public-works program that is expected to absorb 80,000 of the unemployed by midsummer. Further grants and loans from the United States coupled with more Belgian credits to European purchasers, plus the substitution of more expensive European goods for cheaper dollar imports, might provide temporary relief. Ultimately, however, Belgium will have to lower its costs and, by changing its production pattern, divert a greater share of its exports to dollar markets. But this can only be done by a higher rate of savings—whether voluntary or forced—and by a shifting of workers and equipment from present to new industries. All of that means drastic cuts in the general living standard, and further unemployment while the changes are being made. Naturally, the burden will fall most heavily on the export industries.

And it is precisely in the Walloon industrial centers that the Socialists, Liberals, and Communists who oppose Leopold's return have their greatest strength. Only 42.11 per cent of the Walloon population voted for him in the referendum on March 12 as compared with 72 per cent in the agricultural and devoutly Roman Catholic northern provinces of Flanders, where the Christian Social Party is predominant. If King Leopold returns, public attention will focus on him and political controversy will rage around him. It will be easy for opponents to say that he is responsible for the country's ills.

In a democratic age, the function of a king can only be to provide a figurehead for rallying the forces of national unity and patriotism. He cannot make personal political decisions, as the Socialists say Leopold did when he surrendered to the Germans on May 28, 1940. But the split in the country, following the line between the two major language and political groups, means that Leopold already has compromised his ability to fill the role of constitutional monarch. Only a settlement acceptable to all parties will provide a solution to the royal problem which will not interefere with Belgium's gravest challenge, the need for a basic economic retooling.



[For solution see page 325]

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BESIDE THE POINT

WITH all the apocalyptic writing that's going on, everyone will be prepared with the proper ironic comment should the world really be destroyed by man-made weapons. But if the end comes in a more traditionally imagined manner—say, by a brush with a good-sized comet—we'll all be caught flat-footed and unphilosophical. In that event we suggest that, habits being what they are, the press of the Day Before will handle the approaching calamity somewhat as follows:

New York *Times*

END OF WORLD FORESEEN IN 24 HOURS
STOCK PRICES TUMBLE TO RECORD LOWS

New York *Journal-American*

F. D. R. PLANNED WORLD'S END AT YALTA
SENSATIONAL STORY OF AN EX-FBI AGENT

New York *Daily News*

BIG BANG TOMORROW
SERIES OFF—NO WORLD

New York *Post*

STARTING TODAY: "WILL YOUR DAUGHTER BE SAFE IN GEHENNA?"
A TIMELY EXPOSE OF LECHERY IN LIMBO

Daily Worker

CAPITALIST WORLD DOOMED
U. S. S. R. TO TRIM FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Variety

NO PIX BEYOND STYX

Bulletin of the American Astronomical Society

Scientific readers will remain calm, realizing that Earth, after all, is not one of the major planets, like Jupiter or Neptune.

Chicago *Tribune*

WORLD TO BLOW UP—
VOTERS HAIL END OF DEMOCRATIC MISRULE;
McCORMICK BOMB SHELTER FACES TEST

The Nation

BY THE TIME THIS ISSUE REACHES OUR readers they will no doubt have changed their addresses—for the better, we hope. In the excitement that most observers believe will accompany the destruction of our planet there will be a strong tendency to overlook the cause of the catastrophe and a failure to fix responsibility. We do not pretend to know how collision with the approaching comet might have been averted, but we deplore the rank failure of the Administration to take any steps whatever or even to confide in the people that it hadn't the slightest idea of what might be done. Until we have a thorough investigation, voters are bound to wonder whose purpose was served by having the earth cling to its old orbit in the face of certain disaster. Was it collision or collusion?

Time

As it must to all, death comes tomorrow to tired, harried, war-haunted Mother Earth. Sixth in size of the solar system's nine whirling satellites, fourth in distance from the sun, Earth alone has Man, was from the start hailed as planet most likely to fail. . . .

R. B.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

ACCORDING to a dispatch in the New York *Herald-Tribune,* the People's Front of the city of Split in Yugoslavia sent this message to Premier Tito shortly before the recent election in that country:

> Full of joy and enthusiasm, we inform you that we have decided to elect you to be our candidate—there are no limits to our endless happiness. The pride of our workers to be able to vote for the greatest, wisest, and dearest son of our people cannot be described in words. Deeply convinced that you will accept our decision, we promise you that the citizens of Split will come out 100 per cent to the election in order to elect as their Deputy to the Federal Assembly the best of the best, their great teacher, Comrade Tito.

It now appears that practically everybody in Yugoslavia voted the Split ticket.

AN ANIMAL IMPORTER named Kahn, in Hull, England, is looking for an expert snake winder. It seems that a fifteen-foot python in Mr. Kahn's jurisdiction is coiled into its box the wrong way. As a result the snake has become so bad-tempered that no one can approach the box. "I'm trying to find someone," said Mr. Kahn, "who can rewind it the other way." If and when the expert turns up, we hope the United Nations will take him on as a permanent official. We can think of any number of statesmen, situations, and countries that have obviously been coiled into their boxes the wrong way—it's much worse than getting up on the wrong side of the bed—and need to be taken out and rewound. The Chinese dragon would probably be too touchy an assignment to begin with because it's wound wrong into a whole series of boxes, one inside the other. Vishinsky, by all accounts, is at this point so short-tempered that even an expert would not be able to get near him. But it might be possible to unwind Kashmir.

Senator McCarthy has done a pretty good job of unwinding himself; now he only needs to be coiled into his box the right way and sent back to Wisconsin.

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DANGEROUS THOUGHTS:
The Trouble with Informers

FOR the first time in American political life the kind of person has now appeared who elsewhere has always symbolized the decadence of society. The informer has suddenly been accepted as the very keystone of the government's case when it is prosecuting liberals and radicals; juries seem to be impressed by no other evidence so much as by that of a renegade associate of the defendant in party or union or whatever organized group he once belonged to. The use of these reformed villains can be definitely dangerous, and it is in the spirit of the most pugnacious patriotism that I offer certain hints for their care and feeding.

The main trouble a government has with informers is over the method of payment. Mario Scelba, Italy's chief of police, pays only for information delivered. Operator X comes into the office and swears he heard Dominick say that he was at an underground meeting yesterday. The price for this is five hundred lire. Neat, clean, satisfactory. But complications begin to set in. Operator X, finding that days go by with nothing to report, obeys the laws of incentive. He again drops into the office and says Salvatore was heard to say he had gone along with Dominick. Again five hundred lire. Where is this going to stop? What is to prevent any poor man from imagining things about his neighbor's activities?

In America another method of payment has developed. The chief informer against Harry Bridges was a man on salary. This is not unusual in a country that has long considered piecework undignified. Labor conditions here are generally better than those in Italy, anyway. But again there is a problem. An informer on a salary may take one of two courses. He may sit back and not inform any more, or, fearful that he will be fired, he may do what Y did before the Little Un-American Committee in the state of Washington. Y declared that a certain university professor was in a room with him in New York on a certain date planning Communist Party policy. Attendance records at the university showed that the professor was in his classroom on that date. Authorities in the state of Washington now have a warrant out for Y charging him with perjury.

Clearly, if the government wants to make sure of our loyalty by paying our neighbors to spy on us, a drastic change is needed in the conditions of employment. I suggest that Congress pass a bill making everybody a spy. On the first of each month you simply go, let's say, to the local Rent Control Office, which has nothing to do anyway, and ask for your spy money. After all, if informers make a government safe, the more informers the safer the government. Naturally there would only be half pay for children under six.

The advantages of this system are obvious. First, it is democratic, in that nobody is left out; and if we are to have an Informer State it would be intolerable to the American conscience not to have a democratic Informer State. Secondly, it will do away with the atmosphere of suspicion that seems to be closing in on the country. Once you know that everybody you speak to is liable to tell the FBI what you said, you just won't say anything. Thirdly, it will raise the character level of informers. Up to now patriotic citizens have often suffered a twinge of shame at seeing the kind of people the government has used. But once informing is opened up to everyone, it will cease to be disgraceful and a higher type will go into it as a career. In these days it would hardly be to our advantage to have foreigners believe that we must reach down to the bottom of the barrel for our protectors.

Of course in the beginning a few old-fashioned people may object, but if a man has nothing to hide, why should he be afraid of everybody spying on him? As Fulton Lewis, Jr., might say, there is nothing so salutary for the mental health of a community as a good leaven of old-fashioned gossip. In fact, in the big cities, where gossip is less important than in small towns, you have more communism. Operation Snitch may well turn out to be our first historic step back to Jeffersonian democracy.

THE OBSERVER

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Is Peace Still Possible?

BY JOHN BOYD ORR

IN THE last fifty years science has advanced more than in the two thousand previous years and given mankind greater powers over the forces of nature than the ancients ascribed to their gods. In the same period the idea of the rights of the individual, which caused such changes in Europe, has spread among the colored races, and they have become dynamic, demanding freedom and a political status and standard of living equal to those of the white race. The present worldwide revolution is due to the difficulty of adjusting human society to the terrific impact of modern science. Changes commensurate with the magnitude of the new forces are inevitable.

In producing the airplane and the wireless, science has created a new international political environment to which governments must adjust their foreign policies. Almost as important are the new industrial conditions it has created. With the advance of technology more and more goods can be produced with less and less labor. After the First World War the economic problem was no longer one of production but of finding markets through which the output of industry and agriculture could be dispersed and consumed.

The only solution nineteenth-century economics could offer was to cut down production to the level of economic demand. Land went out of cultivation while the people were hungry. Factories were idle while people needed the things they could produce. At an economic conference in 1933 Viscount Bruce warned governments that an economic system which for its own preservation restricted the production and distribution of things urgently required by the majority of mankind was one that could not endure. He predicted disaster. It came. Unemployment was cured, first in Germany and then in other countries, by the manufacture of armaments for the Second World War.

During the last war, when there was a market for everything that could be produced, the productive capacity of Canada and the United States, which were outside the battle area, increased 100 per cent. What the United States and Canada have done all countries can do. Nearly every country in the world is now emulating them and becoming industrialized as rapidly as it can. Already the acute post-war shortage of goods has been made good, and the fight for markets has begun. Shall we again adjust supply to effective economic demand, and cure unemployment by preparation for another world war, or will governments cooperate in a new world economic system that will provide an assured market for all that modern science can produce?

There can be no peace in the world so long as a large proportion of the population lack the necessities of life and believe that a change of the political and economic system will make them available. World peace must be based on world plenty.

DURING the First World War the suggestion for a world government in the form of a League of Nations came from America. It would be wrong to belittle the League. The conception was so sound that it nearly succeeded. Two reasons may be given for its failure. European governments with their long tradition of economic conflict and war were more concerned with their own selfish interests than with the contribution they could make to the building of a world state; and they were too much concerned with politics and too little with economics.

After the Second World War another attempt was made to form a world government. The United Nations is a better organization than the League. In addition to the Assembly and the Security Council, where the delegates of the Foreign Office meet, there are the specialized agencies—the Food and Agricultural Organization, the World Health Organization, the Economic and Social Council, and so on—through which nations can cooperate to apply science to develop the resources of the earth. And there is the World Bank to provide the necessary credits to enable them to do their work. Here at last mankind has the machinery through which governments can join in eliminating hunger, poverty, and disease, and in creating prosperity in agriculture, industry, and trade which will be permanent because based on the needs of the people.

Unfortunately, these agencies have neither the authority nor the funds they need to enable them to do the job for which they were established. If the sixty governments represented on them would agree to devote to them one unit of their currency for every hundred they are spending on preparation for war, and allow them freedom of action, I venture to predict that within a few years the political issues which divide nations would become meaningless and the obstacles to peace disappear.

Some think that the United Nations, because it has

LORD ORR, director general of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization in 1946-47, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1949.

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not fulfilled the high hopes of 1946, has failed like the League. As a matter of fact, though but an infant organization, it has a fine record of achievement both in stopping local wars and in getting nations to cooperate in regional, agricultural, and economic development. Some think the worst horrors of war might be avoided by an international agreement not to use nuclear weapons. This is a vain hope. No religious or moral principle will prevent the use of any weapon in war, for war is the denial of the fundamental principles of all great religions. A limited war is an impossibility. It would be easier to outlaw war itself than to outlaw any special weapon.

The first step toward peace must be an easing of the existing political tension. This might be brought about by application of the calm light of reason to the present dangerous situation. The main tension is between Communist Russia and capitalist America. Let them get rid of their fear of each other by realizing that the world will never be dominated by either Moscow or Washington. Neither the capitalist nor the Communist ideology will be destroyed by direct attack or by fifth-column infiltrations from within. Capitalism has proved so successful in creating wealth and raising the workers' standard of living, while at the same time enlarging the freedom of the individual, that people in capitalist or Socialist countries will not exchange their way of life for a foreign ideology. On the other hand, the Russian Communist government has also been successful in its great expansion of technical education, in its public-health work, and in its industrial and agricultural development.

The real evil of the Russian Communist state is not communism. It is the secret police and the concentration camp. But let us in the West not be too self-righteous. It is not so long ago that we had our slave plantations and short shrift for anyone who threatened to undermine the authority of the state. The hope is that Russia will evolve along the same lines as the Western democracies. Unfortunately, the threat of war acting as a pressure from without probably consolidates the present system.

BUT permanent peace cannot be attained merely by efforts to prevent war. We shall be on the road to world unity and peace when the nations of the world jointly begin to apply science to develop the world's resources for the benefit of all. The means of cooperation are ready and waiting in the specialized agencies of the United Nations. The difficulty is to get a real beginning. Why should the members of the U. N. not consider some concrete measure like the elimination of disease through the World Health Organization, or doubling the world food supply through the joint work of the other specialized agencies, with all nations contributing the funds through the World Bank in proportion to their wealth?

The nation or group of nations which made a great new gesture of good will by offering to collaborate with all governments in a simple and concrete plan of world development would win the allegiance of the people of all countries, sick to death as they are of political conflict and preparation for war. The government which is strongest and surest of itself is the one which should take the lead in this move for peace. The way other governments received such an offer would be an acid test of their intentions. Any which refused to collaborate could rightly be ostracized from the family of nations.

THE HOSTILE PEACELOVER — London *Daily Herald*

In the last resort, the decision of peace or war lies with the people. Even in totalitarian countries the leader must justify his actions in the eyes of the people. If a world plebiscite were taken, there would be ten thousand votes for world unity and peace to one for war. The people of the world are getting together in inter-national organizations—the United World Federalists, the Crusade for World Government, the Women's International League

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for Peace and Freedom, the International Friendship League, the Students' International Federalist Movement, the Committee to Prepare a World Citizen Movement, and many others. I have mentioned only those with which I have had some connection. And these organizations are now getting together in a World Movement for World Federal Government.

If this people's movement continues to grow as it has grown in the last few years, and delegates from all countries meet in conference, a great contribution will be made to an international spirit of friendship and every movement for peace will be strengthened. Peace-loving governments will feel that in working for world unity they have the support not only of their own peoples but of many millions in other countries.

If the peoples of the world with one united voice demand world unity and peace they will get it. It is the duty of every person of intelligence and good-will to support one or the other of these international organizations.

Washington's "Dry Run" Primary

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Seattle, Washington, March 29

A UNIQUE unofficial primary is being held in the state of Washington. The opponents are two young Democratic Congressmen, and the prize is the chance to enter the lists against the reactionary Republican Senator Harry P. Cain in 1952. Cain's number has been up every since he reneged on Grand Coulee appropriations during the Eightieth Congress.

Henry M. Jackson, thirty-seven, and Hugh B. Mitchell, forty-two, have stoutly insisted they will not file against each other, but both are eager to run against Cain in a contest which is practically certain to send a Democrat to the United States Senate. A "dry run" throughout the state has been the solution. Jackson and Mitchell speak constantly outside their bailiwicks on questions which are of interest to all Washington. Jackson has been concentrating on atomic problems; yet the Hanford project, birthplace of plutonium, is 300 miles from the timbered Puget Sound Second District which Jackson has represented for ten years. Mitchell has taken the proposed Columbia Valley Authority for his issue, although ironically enough his Seattle district is one of the few patches of the Northwest which does not drain into the Columbia River.

There seems to be a tacit gentlemen's agreement that the Congressman whose ambitions are received the most favorably by the people of the state will take on Cain. Presumably, the leaders of the Democratic Party, the trade unions, and the Washington Grange will make the selection. These people do not want to have Jackson and Mitchell knock each other out in a genuine primary, for both men are considered of inestimable value to the progressive cause.

Wherever public power or union pensions are at stake, the two youthful members of Congress inevitably show up. Their voting records are so alike that not a sheet of tissue paper could be shoved between them. When Mitchell scolded the Northwest Development Association for fighting CVA with utility-company funds, Jackson followed with a similar rebuke of the State Reclamation Association. With their stands on all major issues practically identical, the choice between them must be based on their personal qualities. The leaders' decision, therefore, will be an interesting revelation of what insiders regard as political "it."

Jackson has the build of a fullback. On the platform he emphasizes points with piston-like fist-pounding. He radiates strength and vitality. His handshake is crushingly friendly, but not insincere. Hugh Mitchell is the scholarly sort, almost the movie stereotype of a young college professor. Before an audience he appears somewhat awed and frightened, but his speeches have a little more originality and substance than Jackson's. Jackson is a bachelor, Mitchell a family man. Mitchell is not a war veteran. Jackson served briefly as an enlisted soldier without resigning his Congressional seat and now is a member of the American Legion. More important, Jackson is of Norwegian ancestry. Washington has a larger proportion of Scandinavian-born residents than any other state except Minnesota. Scandinavian forbears are said to be worth 50,000 votes in a state-wide election.

Jackson has carried his Congressional district, peopled mainly by fishermen and loggers, five times and by substantial margins. Mitchell was elected to the House for the first time in 1948, edging out a colorless Republican incumbent named Homer Jones by fewer than 8,000 votes. Mitchell, however, is known to more voters. His district, one of the most populous in the nation, has 565,000 inhabitants; Jackson's 370,000.

Although the contest between the two liberals has so far been courteous and discreet, their adherents are

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Hugh B. Mitchell

bringing out a few skeletons. Now that General Eisenhower has identified himself with the cause of conservatism, Mitchell is embarrassed by the fact that he urged the retired General of the Army as a replacement for Mr. Truman in 1948. And some Washington citizens, aroused by Alaska's economic enslavement, believe Mitchell has been too close to the fishing and airline monopolies operating out of Seattle. On the other hand, Mitchell's partisans complain that Jackson was very prudent about rooting for CVA in the Eightieth Congress, when he was the only Democratic Representative from the Northwest. With public-power sentiment at that time apparently at low ebb, Jackson seemed wary of making the Columbia Valley Authority an all-out issue.

Actually, both men have shown courage in difficult situations. If any one person can be considered the original sponsor of CVA, it is Hugh Mitchell. He insisted that support for CVA be pledged in the 1948 campaign, and the President swept Washington by nearly double his margin in any other Western state, even colossal California. Jackson, to his credit, is the only Washington politician who has investigated publicly the huge government subsidies which go to the Alaskan steamship companies based in the state.

One circumstance may give Jackson the edge. This is Mitchell's defeat by Cain in 1946. Mitchell was then serving in the Senate by appointment of Governor Wallgren, and some farm and labor leaders believe he had his chance, even though it was a Republican year, and now it is Jackson's turn. Should Jackson file against Cain, an effort will be made to divert Mitchell to the governorship. If he accepted the nomination, the two men would give the state its strongest Democratic ticket in a generation.

NO STRANGER anomaly exists in American politics than Harry Cain's representation of Washington in the United States Senate. Roosevelt carried the state overwhelmingly four times, and Harry Truman captured it with a majority of 87,000 votes two years ago. Washington has more public-power districts than any other state. Light bills are the lowest in the country. Marketing cooperatives are zealously supported by the Norwegian lumberjacks and Swedish dairy farmers, who have a tradition of liberal government in their homelands.

While Cain denounces the welfare state almost by rote, his constituents are probably closer to having a welfare state than any other regional group in America. Federal pay rolls bulk large in Washington, what with Grand Coulee irrigation works, new atomic-energy plants, military aircraft contracts, naval bases, Indian reservations, national parks and forests. Of 674,000 employed persons in January, 124,000 received the green checks which come from the United States and state treasuries. In addition, Washington has 92,000 men and women drawing unemployment compensation, the lumber industry having been hard hit by dwindling stocks of fir and pine, as well as temporarily by this winter's "big snows." Another 144,000 people receive old-age assistance, direct relief, or other grants. In sum, as against the 550,000 inhabitants of the state who are employed in private enterprise, 358,000 receive checks from some governmental agency—federal, state, county, municipal, or school district.

"If public spending were materially reduced in this state," admits Ross Cunningham, associate editor of the conservative Seattle *Times*, "a profound depression could come almost overnight." Yet against such a background in his constituency, Cain consistently opposes federal appropriations. He has even suggested that the state take over the job of completing the Grand Coulee project, in spite of the financial stringency at Olympia. In a state with a large proportion of foreign-born residents he makes no bones about his hostility to liberalizing the D. P. bill, which discriminates against Catholics and Jews. And although he himself lives in Tacoma, a city with a public-power plant which provides electricity at the country's cheapest rates, he has resisted plans of the Bonneville Power Administration to construct a gridwork of transmission lines through the Northwest.

Cain's public record shows why Governor Arthur Langlie and other Washington Republicans have tried to dissociate themselves from him politically. It also shows why Congressmen Mitchell and Jackson are so eager to run against Cain in 1952.

Drawings by Seligson

Henry M. Jackson

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Del Vayo—Three Atomic Truths

PEACE could be practically assured if three elementary truths could be hammered into everyone's head: first, that there is no such thing as atomic secrecy; second, that there is no such thing as military security against the atomic bomb; third, that there is no such thing as medical protection against the consequences of atomic attack.

In the wave of hysteria produced by two or three atomic-espionage trials, culminating in the case of Dr. Fuchs, it has been forgotten that from the very beginning the highest authorities in the field of nuclear physics have repeatedly said that there is and can be no atomic secrecy. That people so often forget this truth may be due to the average citizen's wishful belief that exclusive possession of a weapon—first the atom bomb, next perhaps the hydrogen bomb—is enough to give this country the last word on international relations. And that last word, according to the hope or conviction of such people, would unquestionably serve the highest ideals of humanity and assure peace. Others, less naive, have used the warnings of the scientists to create the atmosphere of fear required for putting through measures to limit individual freedom both in atomic science and in politics.

Atomic secrecy is impossible because, in spite of security regulations, scientific matters are discussed in every laboratory and academy of science in the world, by all scientists from the extreme right to the extreme left. If there is a Dr. Fuchs willing to serve the Communist cause in which he believed, there may be another Dr. Fuchs ready to put his knowledge at the service of some new Führer who may arise in Germany or elsewhere to proclaim himself the one man who can save Western civilization. In the production of the bomb a group of a hundred thousand people has taken part, around which it is not humanly possible to erect a Chinese wall of restriction and discretion. And apart from "leaks," we know now that every advanced nation has been simultaneously engaged in the same sort of experimentation based on common scientific knowledge.

The second point, that in atomic warfare there can be no absolute military protection, is today no less indisputable. Imagination running wild and the confusion arising from conflicting reports on the effects of the bomb have produced extreme zig-zags of opinion. Where once there was an unwarranted feeling of trust based on America's exclusive possession of the bomb, people have now fled to the opposite extreme. On learning that Russia also had the bomb, they began to dramatize the inadequacy of any defense system. In "Modern Arms and Free Men," a study published before President Truman made his historic announcement on September 22, Vannevar Bush gave a comprehensive report on what had already been achieved by the United States in the way of atomic defense. A great deal has been done and certainly much more will be done in the future, given the enormous industrial capacity and the inventiveness of American science.

But absolute security is as little a reality as atomic secrecy. Even the usually buoyant Secretary of Defense, Louis Johnson, speaking on March 3 before the Overseas Press Club, said: "We do not and cannot promise full immunity to all of America against atomic attack. In case of war, some atomic raids might penetrate our cordon of defense no matter how strong we make it." Only a few days ago, Congress was told by Paul J. Larsen, Director of the Office of Civilian Mobilization of the National Security Resources Board, that if the United States tried to achieve "absolute security" against atomic attack, it would have to spend more than $300,000,000,000 and "become a garrison state." In the past half century, many of Jules Verne's fantasies have come startlingly true. One may conceive of some prodigious mechanism whereby whole cities could be sunk beneath the ground and thus protected against atomic attack. But lacking such a device, it would be necessary to carry out a compulsory nation-wide dispersion of people and industries which, in the opinion of many high authorities, would put an end to all that Americans have understood by the word democracy.

The third truth is that there is no physiological protection against the effects of nuclear explosives. Several universities are today engaged in an interesting project which includes an operating plan for atomic disasters, handling of food and water supply, radiation detection, internal radiation hazards, and the biological effects of radiation. This work is of great scientific value, but leading physicians agree that in the event of an atomic war, it would be possible only to palliate a few of its evils, not to offer real medical defense.

On the psychological side, protection is even thinner. Even now, under the impact of the cold war, dread of atomic attack has enormously increased the incidence of anxiety neuroses. After all, it is not the politicians or partly informed journalists who have sounded the alarm. Einstein himself, in his dramatic talk during Mrs. Roosevelt's first television program, said that with the hydrogen bomb in the offing, "radioactive poisoning of the atmosphere and hence annihilation of any life on earth has been brought within the range of technical possibilities." The same conclusion had been announced a few days before on the Chicago Round Table Conference Broadcast by such outstanding nuclear physicists as Professors Bethe of Cornell, Frederick Seitz of the University of Illinois, and Leo Szilard and Harry Brown of the University of Chicago, all four of whom had played major roles in the development of the war-time atomic bomb.

If there is no atomic secrecy and no real military or medical protection, the only alternative for those who wish to avert universal catastrophe is to clear the way for negotiation, to put an end to a cold war which by this time is, in fact, *war*. When every American has realized these essential truths, we shall be much nearer to peace.

[*Mr. del Vayo left this week for Europe. He will cover the Foreign Ministers' Conference in London and principal political events on the Continent during the coming months.* —EDITORS THE NATION.]

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MAN BITES DOG

BY JERRY TALLMER

ROBINSON McILVAINE is a bright young man who describes himself as "owner, editor, publisher, advertising manager, and janitor of a country weekly newspaper called the *Archive*, in Downingtown, Pennsylvania, a town of 5,000 people thirty-two miles from Philadelphia." Thirty-two miles, he might have added, from the home of the *Saturday Evening Post*. In its issue of March 18, the *Post* ran an article by him, all decked out in a double-page spread with four big pictures and a hard-hitting title: "The Federal Snoops Are After Me." Subtitle: "The bedeviled editor of a struggling small-town paper finds he must pay himself wages even if he has to borrow the money. What if it drives him out of business? Sorry, say the bureaucrats—but that's the law."

Sorry, says this observer, but that's baloney. The fact is that McIlvaine and the *Post* have teamed together to produce an extremely effective hatchet job on dat ole socialistic debbil, the government. McIlvaine—at least, as edited—is a skilled writer. Of the *Post's* 3,800,000 readers, certainly many hundreds of thousands were persuaded by him that he had been unfairly harassed by "federal snoops" who love to make life difficult for energetic editors and/or small-business men. Only one flaw: title, subtitle, picture-captions, and most of McIlvaine's article are dishonest—a glib mish-mosh of misrepresentation, half-truth, omission, slanted phraseology, and outright falsehood.

McIlvaine's complaint is that a dark cloud came into his life last October 4, when investigator John L. Lanahan of the Philadelphia Regional Office of the Labor Department's Wage and Hour Division put in an appearance at the *Archive* plant. "A tall man with a face like a beaked eagle and with a bulging brief case under his arm edged in through the door . . . and whipped out a cardcase and thrust it under my nose." Enter Mr. Lanahan—since described to me by one of his colleagues as "the Charlie Gehringer of the Philadelphia office"—and trouble. Let McIlvaine tell it:

> "I notice," he [Lanahan] said, "that neither you as president nor Mrs. McIlvaine as vice-president of the Chester Valley Press have drawn any salary. . . . The law says . . . that anyone working for a corporation must receive a minimum of forty cents an hour [this was before Congress raised the minimum wage to 75 cents an hour—J. T.] and time and a half for overtime. . . ." "Do you mean to tell me," my voice cracked, "that we have to pay ourselves even though we don't have the money? . . ." "I didn't say that," he replied with a shrug. "I merely interpret the law."

This was the crux of the article and the peg for the title and subtitle. What McIlvaine and the *Post* neglect to report is that neither Lanahan nor his superiors ever told the publisher to take money out of his corporate pocket and transfer it to his private pocket. I have received from Lanahan his version of what transpired that day in the *Archive* office, and on this point he states: "I didn't say they would have to pay themselves. I told him he and his wife had technically violated the law, but that it would be silly to ask them to comply with it in this respect. This case primarily involved a flagrant misuse of child labor."

Child labor? Here's how the *Post* handled that. A half-page picture of fun and games at a birthday party for one of the kids McIlvaine employed to fold newspapers. (Thirteen candles on the birthday cake.) Caption: "Sessions like these were a local sport until a kill-joy government cried, 'Aha! Child labor!'" Another picture: three boys of thirteen or fourteen lounging moodily over a newspaper form. Caption: "Three more unemployed. [These boys] had to be fired when a scandalized snooper found them earning money after school." And in the article itself, here is the way the subject is introduced (in the thirtieth paragraph):

> Just then the door crashed open, and in roared twenty-six kids ranging from nineteen years down to seven [!]. . . . Recovering slowly, our man asked, "What are these?" I started to tell him that . . . a gang from the high [?] school always dropped in after school, and we usually let five or six join the folding party and gave them cider, cookies, radio programs, and lots of chatter for two or three hours, two days a week.

According to the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended, "oppressive child labor" means the employment of anyone under sixteen except by his parents. There are certain exemptions—newspaper delivery boys among them—but newspaper employees working near heavy machinery are not exempt.

William R. McComb, Secretary Tobin's Wage and Hour Administrator, has issued a public statement on the McIlvaine case. It reveals that when Lanahan, before the children had appeared, inquired whether the *Archive* employed anyone under sixteen, McIlvaine replied, "No, we do not employ anyone, but we do have some young boys come in after school to help fold the papers." This not-quite-flat denial was blandly omitted from the *Post* story.

The results of Lanahan's child-labor investigation have been summarized as follows by McComb:

> Between June 6, 1949, and October 6, 1949, the firm employed ten boys who were under the age of sixteen. One of them was eleven years old, two of them were twelve years old, three were thirteen years old, and four were fourteen years old. . . . The employment of some of these minors continued on October 5 and 6, after the investigator told Mr. McIlvaine . . . that their employment was illegal.

And Lanahan himself adds:

> There were from four to ten children employed in the plant during the average work week. Most of them worked from about 5:30 or 6 p.m. to about 8 or 9, but there were exceptions, particularly on a Wednesday—closing night—when they worked until anywhere from 9 to 11:30. I recall at least two occasions when one or two of the boys worked until 11:30. It came out in discussion with school teachers. The school authorities are not in sympathy with McIlvaine.

The Division's Philadelphia office tried to get me a corroborating statement last week from the teachers or the Downingtown principal. No dice. It might "embarrass them in the community."

How much were the folders paid? You can't tell from McIlvaine's article. Lanahan found that the boys over six-

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teen were paid 50 cents an hour, those under sixteen 35 cents an hour or less—some as little as 15 cents an hour. Lanahan also discovered an "utter lack" of payroll records in the *Archive* plant, although the law specifies that such data must be saved for two years. And he found that McIlvaine owed a total of $162.85 to two regular employees for overtime work. When McIlvaine made proper restitution, his case was closed, but this is not mentioned in the *Post* article. On the contrary, he leaves the impression that he stands "charged [untrue] with operating in interstate commerce [true], running some sort of a sweatshop [untrue] for kids under sixteen [true], and discriminating against corporation executives [untrue]." His final dire comment: "Other small-business men . . . claim to have had more harassing experiences." This generalization, echoed in the *Wall Street Journal* the day after his *Post* story appeared, has evoked the following response in a letter to me from Administrator McComb:

> Enforcement of the Fair Labor Standards Act and obtaining compliance is a job of salesmanship. Our investigators are instructed to discuss the general requirements of the [law] with the employers. . . . They do not threaten, nor do they harass employers or employees. In this educational task, they work politely and courteously. Many employers have complimented our investigators on this phase of their work. . . .
>
> There are approximately 638,000 firms whose employees are covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act. . . . In order to get around to all these firms with our present staff, it will take twenty years—so it is obvious that it would be poor policy on our part to investigate firms too often. It is only in the unusual cases we do this.

McIlvaine's was an unusual case.

A few remaining items: McIlvaine writes that Lanahan "found something sinister" in the fact that one *Archive* linotype operator "made as much as $110 a week." Says Lanahan: "I don't know what he means by finding something sinister. That operator's regular pay was $1.60 an hour—$64 a week.* He may once have earned $110 working overtime in an especially heavy week." McIlvaine says Lanahan "showed great distress when he learned we didn't have a time clock." Lanahan: "Nobody said a word about a time clock." McIlvaine: "There was also something irregular about the fact that we paid the foreman a salary and gave him paid vacations." Lanahan: "No discussion of vacations. I told him he would have to pay the additional half-time for the foreman's overtime work." McIlvaine makes it appear that Lanahan unreasonably pursued a technicality to prove that the Chester Valley Press was subject to provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act because it engaged in interstate commerce through job printing. Nowhere in his article does he acknowledge that he came within the act in any event because he printed for another publisher a paper called the *Upper Main Line News*.

He does admit that as a result of Lanahan's visit he had to buy an automatic press that folds as it prints. It cost $8,000—quite a lot more than all the cider and cookies in Downington. It was this wallop, something tells me, which inspired him to take his troubles to the *Saturday Evening Post*.

*Approximately $16 less than the weekly minimum wage for a linotype operator in a union shop in the same area.

Science Notebook

BY LEONARD ENGEL

ANTI-VIVISECTIONISTS are generally regarded as harmless if misguided eccentrics, but they have succeeded in putting laws which interfere materially with biological and medical research on the statute books of seven states—Illinois, Maine, Massachusetts, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, and Washington—and have obtained ordinances in a great many cities which prevent unclaimed animals from being turned over to laboratories.

A vigorous counter-offensive is now being conducted by a group of scientific and medical men headed by Professor A. J. Carlson of the University of Chicago, one of the great explorers of the human digestive system. Dr. Carlson's group, the National Society for Medical Research, is determined, in particular, to put an end to the systematic vilification of scientists by the Hearst press, the anti-vivisectionists' chief mouthpiece. A panel of attorneys has been assembled to press libel actions on behalf of slandered researchers. Five suits aggregating more than two and a half million dollars have already been instituted, and Dr. Carlson says more will follow if necessary.

The five suits filed grew out of a series of articles printed last spring in Hearst's Chicago *Herald-American*. The caption of a photograph accompanying one of the articles described Dr. N. R. Brewer, director of animal quarters at the University of Chicago, as a "sadist," "torturer," and "cruel experimenter." Dr. Carl C. Pfeiffer, head of the Department of Pharmacology at the University of Illinois and secretary of the Illinois Society for Medical Research, was attacked in the same terms. Donald E. Dickason, director of non-academic personnel at the University of Illinois, was called a "torturer crony" of university researchers. Dr. Elihu Bond, director of experimental animal quarters at the University of Illinois, was attacked as "completely unqualified for his position" on the ground that he did not have an Illinois license as a veterinarian, although he does have Connecticut and Massachusetts licenses.

The fifth victim, Dr. Virgil H. Moon of Wake Forest College, North Carolina, was slandered by misquotation. Through experiments with dogs Dr. Moon has made important progress in overcoming surgical shock. The *Herald-American* printed an article under his signature which declared that animal experimentation was unnecessary and useless. Five years earlier he had been interviewed by a *Herald-American* reporter, who put in his month what the boss wanted. Dr. Moon tried in vain to get the paper to print a retraction; when the article was reprinted, he sued.

The *Herald-American* is attempting to obtain dismissal of the suits on technical grounds. Lawyers with whom I have checked declare, however, that the cases will probably be ordered to trial or settled out of court. Perhaps the Hearst papers will then be a little more circumspect in whooping it up for their particular variety of scientific obscurantism.

Answer to Who's Who? [page 316]: PIUS XII, TRUMAN

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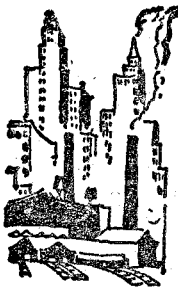

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

British Outlook

THE *Economic Survey* issued annually by the British Treasury has now become an established institution. Its purpose is to assess developments during the preceding twelve months, to estimate production and foreign-trade prospects for the year ahead, and to indicate in broad outline the probable distribution of national income as between personal consumption, investment, and government expenditure.

The fourth of the series just published suggests that while austerity will continue in 1950, the individual Briton can look forward to a modest improvement in consumption. Investment is scheduled to decline slightly and government expenditure will be higher, mainly because of greater outlay on the social services, including education. Altogether, the *Survey* offers hope for a year of steady progress, always provided that inflationary pressures can be kept in check.

Last year, Britain's dollar drama, which culminated in the devaluation of sterling, tended to overshadow more healthy aspects of its economic picture. There was, in fact, a quite remarkable advance in both production and productivity. Output per man-year in business enterprises generally increased, according to this report, by 4 per cent. In manufacturing industries accounting for roughly half the national income—those covered by the interim index of industrial production—the improvement was even greater. With an increase of just over 1 per cent in the working force employed, there was a gain of 6.5 per cent in output, indicating a rise of about 5.5 per cent in productivity. This rate of increase is far above the average recorded in Britain in prewar years, and, indeed, compares very favorably with the achievements of this country, where an annual improvement of 3 per cent is considered good.

In comparison with 1948, every major branch of industry appears to have raised its total production, but the most conspicuous improvements in output per employee were noted in automobile and aircraft manufacture, some branches of steel finishing, and in the printing, paper, and furniture industries. Among the reasons for these advances in efficiency the *Survey* mentions the steadier flow of raw materials and components and the improved facilities provided by the post-war investment program. In addition, it gives credit to joint efforts by men and management to evolve better methods and points out that such cooperation has been fostered by confidence in the continuance of full employment.

In making their projections for the current year, the authors of the *Survey* have not set specific production targets. However, for the purpose of forecasting national income they have assumed an over-all increase in productivity of 2.5 per cent which, in the light of 1949 achievements, may prove conservative. Some other assumptions, however, appear to be less firmly based. Thus the tentative forecast of international trade developments suggests a small reduction in the merchandise deficit, an increase in "invisible" earnings, such as those secured from foreign investments and shipping, and a small surplus in current transactions with the world as a whole. Some improvement in the dollar position is anticipated as the result of reduction in imports from the dollar area and a moderate increase in exports.

Nevertheless, the *Survey* warns that "it is necessary to stress yet again the underlying uncertainties. Prices are the most important and the most uncertain element. An increase of only one point in the import-price index is equivalent to about £20,000,000 on the value of imports and, therefore, on any deficit (or off any surplus) in the total balance. The increase in exports must be made in the face of severe competition. Moreover, underlying all forecasts of the balance of payments is the assumption that a high level of United States activity and foreign trade will be maintained and that the United Kingdom will continue to receive assistance on an adequate scale to meet its gold and dollar deficit."

Again and again, this document returns to the point that the gravest immediate danger is a rise in internal costs. That would cancel out the benefits of sterling devaluation and make it increasingly difficult for British goods to compete in world markets. Consequently, "it is essential that the policy of restraint on demands for increased incomes should be adhered to." Provided that production comes up to expectations, the value of goods and services available for personal consumption should increase by nearly £250 or about 3 per cent. "If consumers sought to increase their expenditures by more than this amount, the total of domestic expenditure projected would exceed the value, at current prices, of the total supplies that are likely to be available and there would be a resurgence of inflationary pressure."

The *Survey* makes it clear that the Labor government intends to maintain taxes at a high level and to budget again for a large surplus. But it is evidently also relying on an increase in personal savings to relieve inflationary pressure, although savings in Britain now appear to be declining and a change in this trend is unlikely in view of the impact of rising prices on frozen incomes. For as a consequence of devaluation, which automatically increased sterling prices of many imported commodities, wholesale prices of raw materials have risen 14 per cent since last August. This increase is just beginning to be reflected in the retail index and, in the next few months, an advance of several points in the cost of living seems inevitable.

Under the circumstances, maintenance of the "wage freeze" may prove increasingly difficult. Some unions are already pushing hard for higher pay and since the election some industrial companies have raised dividends, thus breaching the gentlemen's agreement to match limited dividends against limited wages. With its tenuous majority, it will not be easy for the Labor government to "crack down" on business and unions alike, and there is real danger that "the policy of restraint" will be torpedoed. If that should happen, the cautiously optimistic calculations of the *Economic Survey* might prove very wide of the mark.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

A Guidebook for All Good Counter-Revolutionaries

BY W. H. AUDEN

THE RECOLLECTIONS OF ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE. Translated by Alexander Teixeira de Mattos. Edited with Many Additions from the Original Text and an Introduction by J. P. Mayer. Columbia University Press. $5.

SINCE the "Recollections" cover only two years of de Tocqueville's political career, it may be well to give a resumé of that career as a whole.

Elected a deputy in 1839, De Tocqueville's talents were soon recognized by the Chamber, for he was entrusted with introducing a motion for the abolition of slavery in the colonies and, in 1840, with the question of prison reform. In 1846, he was made chairman of a Committee on African Affairs and in 1849, despite the fact that he had voted against Louis Napoleon, he entered the Cabinet as Minister for Foreign Affairs. During his term of office he was twice confronted with international disputes, once between Austria and Piedmont and once between Russia and Turkey, which might have led to a European war, and by his firm and adroit diplomacy preserved the peace. In 1851, it was largely his speech which persuaded the Chamber to vote against the reelection of Louis Napoleon. This he regarded as the great political blunder of his life:

> Our intention was not subtle and quick enough to realize that, from the moment that it has been decided that the public themselves were to choose the President directly, it was only making matters worse to thwart the people's choice so recklessly.

The result was the coup d'état at which De Tocqueville immediately resigned and retired into private life until his death in 1859.

This is a record that the most practical of men would not be ashamed of. De Tocqueville knew well that a politician must utilize the passions and issues of the moment or else he is impotent; or on the other hand he believed that only barbarians consider politics purely practical and without any principles, his own aim being "balance, regular liberty, held in check by religion, custom, and law; the attractions of this liberty has become the passion of my life."

A small incident he relates illustrates like a parable his own practice of politics as the art of the possible ideal:

> No sooner was the hall recaptured, than General Courtais, the original author of our danger, had the incomparable impudence to present himself; he was scared and dragged to the rostrum. I saw him pass before my eyes, pale as a dying man among the flashing swords: Thinking they would cut his throat, I cried with all my might, "Tear off his epaulettes, but don't kill him!" which was done.

Similarly, as a historian, he had an equal dislike for absolute systems of historical interpretation with their "false air of mathematical certainty," on the one hand, and for the "positivist" view, on the other, which would reduce the writing of history to a meaningless catalogue of chance facts.

> I firmly believe that chance does nothing that has not been prepared beforehand. Antecedent facts, the nature of institutions, the cast of minds, and the state of morals are the materials of which are composed those impromptus which astonish and alarm us. The Revolution of February, in common with all other great events of this class, sprang from general causes, impregnated, if I am permitted the expression, by accidents; and it would be as superficial a judgment to ascribe it necessarily to the former or exclusively to the latter.

One is curious to know if the Abbé Lesueur ever read Thucydides with his young pupil, for De Tocqueville's whole approach to the Revolution of 1848 is startlingly similar to the approach of the great historian to the Peloponnesian War. Their historical method is really derived from medicine. For De Tocqueville, the norm of political health is a love of freedom, an honest obedience of law, and an unselfish respect for the rights of others. The revolutionary attack is then examined as follows: first comes the *catastasis*, or description of the general conditions preceding the outbreak—the state of France since the triumph of the middle class in 1830; then the *semeiology*, or detailed observation of the symptoms from day to day, watching all the time for the crisis—the initial crisis which ousted Louis Philippe in February was not the real one which occurred in the following June, after which there was a final feeble crisis in the next year; then the *prognosis*, or forecast of the outcome—the revolution would not be fatal but the love of independence was to be followed by a dread of, and perhaps a distaste for, free institutions; and, lastly, the *therapeutics*, or the measures recommended for restoring and preserving health. For De Tocqueville, these included a second chamber and decentralization of the government. Neither suggestion was followed, and the patient fell into what was in his eyes an ever more serious state. "Do you not realize," he wrote to his brother in 1852,

> that this government is as excessive in its way, indeed much more so, than that which it succeeded, that all its means are revolutionary, borrowed from the worst periods of the Revolution, and that the sole difference is that they are being employed against our enemies and no longer against us?

De Tocqueville's extraordinary, perhaps unique, merit as a historian is that he combines in equal measure the philosopher's capacity for drawing general conclusions and the novelist's eye for the particular and grotesque. His long-range forecasts are famous, his power of describing scenes and characters perhaps less so.

> Barrot at last appeared. He was out of breath, but not alarmed. Climbing the stairs of the tribune: "Our duty lies before us," he said; "the Crown of July rests on the head of a child and a woman."
>
> The Chamber, recovering its courage, plucked up heart to burst into acclamations, and the people in their turn were silent. The Duchesse d'Orleans rose from her seat, seemed to wish to speak, hesitated, listened to timid counsels, and sat down again: the last glimmer of her fortune had gone out. . . . At that mo-

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ment, the crowd filling the semi-circle were driven back, by a stream from outside, towards the center benches, which were already almost deserted: it burst and spread over the benches. Of the few deputies who still occupied them, some slipped away and left the House, while others retreated from bench to bench, like victims surprised by the tide, who retreat from rock to rock always pursued by the rising waters.

All this commotion was produced by two troops of men, for the most part armed, which marched through the two lobbies, each with officers of the National Guards and flags at their head. The two officers who carried the flags, of whom one, a swaggering individual, was, as I heard later, a half-pay colonel called Dumoulin, ascended the tribune with a theatrical air, waved their standards, and with much skipping about and great melodramatic gestures, bawled out some revolutionary balderdash or other. The President declared the sitting suspended, and proceeded to put on his hat, as is customary; but, since he had the knack of making himself ridiculous in the most tragic situations, in his precipitation he seized the hat of a secretary instead of his own, and pulled it down over his eyes and ears.

The "Recollections" are full of such scenes. As a study of the first tremors of the world revolution we are now living through, they are of immense importance. De Tocqueville stands out as one of the noblest examples of an attitude which may be called the Counter-Revolution. This must not be confused with Reaction, which refuses to recognize the just element in the Revolution and wishes to regard it as a simple rebellion. The Counter-Revolutionary has no wish to return to the condition which preceded the outbreak of revolution; he wishes rather to save the revolution from failure through the inevitable over-emphasis and over-simplification of the revolutionary party.

The central issue of the world revolution at present in progress is the right of every human body to the food, light, housing, medical attention, and so forth necessary for health. Its symbols are the naked anonymous baby and the tomb of the Unknown Soldier. The body knows nothing of freedom, only of necessities, and these are the same for all bodies. Hence the tendency of the revolutionary party in concentrating on this one goal to deny all liberty and all minority rights. In so far as we are bodies, we are or ought to be revolutionaries; in so far, however, as we are also souls and minds, we are or ought to be counter-revolutionaries, and in our struggle, the books of De Tocqueville belong, together with Thucydides, the Seventh Epistle of Plato, and the plays of Shakespeare, in the small group of the indispensable.

"An important book about one of the world's greatest problems."
—NEW YORK TIMES

AT any given minute, one half the people in the world are sick. That in itself is a shocking fact, but it becomes more so when it is recognized as only one half of a tragic dilemma: sick people cannot produce food and malnutrition breeds disease.

Starting with this thesis in his survey of world health, Charles Morrow Wilson proceeds to examine all the forces that have gone into the making of a sick world, and those that are being brought into the fight for human health.

Required reading for all thinking people.

ONE HALF THE PEOPLE
By CHARLES MORROW WILSON

At all bookstores, $4.00
WILLIAM SLOANE ASSOCIATES

Henry Green, Virtuoso

NOTHING. By Henry Green. The Viking Press. $3.

"NOTHING" is the slightest of Henry Green's later novels, quite lacking the intensity of "Caught" and "Back" and the complex beauty of "Concluding." Mr. Green has labeled it "a frivolous comedy of manners," and, tongue in cheek or not, this is an accurate description of a subtle and careful and disappointing book. He has deliberately limited the range of his sympathies and judgments, and has concentrated his remarkable powers on a virtuoso performance.

He is an accomplished virtuoso, and he makes his upper-middle-class Londoners perform like figures in some highly stylized ritual dance of a dying culture. The young, who are consecrated to the bureaucracy, are set off against the middle-aged, who have had their extensive fun in the period 1918-1939. There is a widow, Jane, beautiful still, the heroine of at least one grand passion. There is an eligible widower, John, who once had an affair with Jane. There are Jane's solemn son, Philip, and John's serious daughter, Mary. There are also John's mistress, Liz ("How is that dread sad old affair of theirs?" Jane inquires at one point, in the tone in which all the middle-aged characters habitually refer to passion), and Jane's current lover, Richard. With the exception of Philip, who is gauche, and of Liz, who tipples, everyone is well bred. Philip and Mary manage to become engaged—it is as mechanical as that—a move of which Jane, the most successfully devious female in recent fiction, does not approve. She is so successful that by the end of the novel, and all the while in a flutter of helplessness, she has broken the engagement, gotten herself engaged to John, and thrown the displaced lovers into one another's arms. Her manipulations are admirably executed. She alone knows what she wants and contrives to get it, moral monster though she is. The action goes on in a series of impeccably cooked and served luncheons and dinners, usually *à deux*, with occasional episodes in a genteel public house.

Superficially, "Nothing" reads like a parody of the manner of "The Ambassadors" or "The Wings of the Dove." In their elegant settings the characters *wail* at one another a good deal. The sexual predicaments and the selfishness of the hedonistic old are always concealed under well-bred talk—talk, however, which is careful never to penetrate, as James's talk finally does, the heart of the matter. Like James, Green is concerned with the moral and emotional enervation of the "set," the tight little group whose members have known one another too long. But in the world of "Nothing" the "settlement," not fulfillment or ruin, is the solution to the problems of daily life. When Jane marries John, two people in middle age, one charming and ruthless, the other a polished booby, are subsiding at least into "comfort, quiet, rest." "'And is there anything at all you want my own?'" Jane asks in the closing dialogue. "'Nothing—nothing' he replied in so low a voice she could barely have heard

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and then seemed to fall deep asleep at last." Is not T. S. Eliot working on the same theme in the final act of "The Cocktail Party"?

A conventional novelist would use this kind of subject to point up the strife between the generations. Youth might escape corruption by flight or, in the current fashion, the vicious old might destroy the sensitive young. Mr. Green's young are shocked by their parents. They are solemn about sex. But though earnest, they are passive. Indeed, they are bores.

Why, for all this skill and knowledge, is "Nothing" not a good novel? The answer lies perhaps in its being so resolutely a divertissement. Mr. Green's is one of the most remarkable sensibilities in contemporary English writing. Most of his experimentation with the English novel has been successful. "Nothing" is a brilliant performance. But its matter raises questions no amount of frivolity or brilliance can obscure. The surfaces are never marred by unseemly penetration, and, just as his Jane smothers any possible unpleasantness in charm and evasive chatter, so, with his technique, Mr. Green ineffectively smothers voices which will not be quieted. ERNEST JONES

"The Jungle" Revisited

MEAT AND MAN: A STUDY OF MONOPOLY, UNIONISM, AND FOOD POLICY. By Lewis Corey. The Viking Press. $4.50.

ALTHOUGH this book does not, as its short title suggests, treat of the whole carnivorous career of man, it does cover a great deal of ground. It is, primarily, a history of the American meat industry, with special reference to the great packing trusts and to the long, painful, and finally successful struggle of their employees to build a strong and stable union, the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, A. F. of L.

Fortunately, however, Mr. Corey has not restricted himself by attacking his subject in terms of class warfare. His aim rather has been "to study the meat industry, within the complex of general economic organization and its relation to other food industries, with special reference to monopoly, unionism, and food policy." This is an ambitious project, but the author has carried it through with a considerable degree of success, although the problem of organizing his material into a smooth narrative has sometimes overwhelmed him.

Meat packing, one of the earliest American industries to adopt mass-production, assembly-line methods, received its initial impetus from army orders during the Civil War. The handsome profits then earned provided the capital for further expansion which was also greatly stimulated by growth of railroad communications. Confronted at this stage by pioneer trade unionism, the packers, Mr. Corey tells us, became loud champions of the free-market theory. But they soon developed an allergy to competition, both in their buying and selling, and by the eighteen-eighties the major concerns in the industry were closely associated in fixing prices and "regulating" production and sales.

This book gives an excellent account of the many government campaigns to break up the meat trust. The "Big Five" (later reduced to the "Big Four" when Armour absorbed Nelson, Morris, and Company) sustained several defeats in the courts but continued to dominate the industry. They still do so today, although in recent years their growth has been checked by the rise of some important independent concerns as well as by a decentralizing trend which has been aided by the rapid extension of locker-plants and home deep freezers.

In the early days the meat packers, like other monopolists, exercised their power crudely, riding rough-shod over farmers, consumers, and labor. It took Upton Sinclair's masterpiece of muck-raking, "The Jungle," which Corey rightly quotes extensively, to awaken the public to the conditions under which meat was prepared for the market. Today the packers have become aware of the need for good public relations and have improved both their manners and their methods. "The Jungle" has been cleaned up and now that the industry, after many bitter battles, has been strongly unionized, labor relations are relatively good.

"Nevertheless," Corey maintains, "a condition where four corporations produce more than one-half of the output of meat packing is not a condition of economic freedom." The remedy, he thinks, is not a new anti-trust suit but

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the conversion of these monopoly corporations into public corporations, akin to TVA but freer than it is from direct government control. Such corporations should be subject to the same taxes that ordinary business concerns pay and should compete with each other, and with the private independents, on the basis of production-for-service. Transformed thus into a public utility, the meat industry, this book maintains, would then, and only then, be able to play its proper role in the development of a national nutrition program.

Mr. Corey is concerned with international as well as national food problems and his last chapter is devoted to world policy. It is, perhaps, incompletely integrated with the rest of the book but many readers, I suspect, will share my view that it makes an important addendum. For in a comparatively few pages the author has brought together a mass of useful information about the vast food needs of the world and about recent scientific discoveries which prove that, given international cooperation, these needs can be satisfied.

KEITH HUTCHISON

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Christian Ideologue

NINETEENTH CENTURY STUDIES. By Basil Willey. Columbia University Press. $4.50.

IN HIS new book, Mr. Basil Willey wishes to refurbish the reputation of the eminent Victorians. And the Victorians deserve refurbishing, not—here I disagree with Mr. Willey—because of their religious and moral teachings but because they constitute the most coherent and thickly populated line of intellectual descent in their time. There were greater individuals elsewhere, greater Germans, Russians, and Americans. Yet the English writers reacted as a group instinctively and with patience and at length to the central intellectual problems of the nineteenth century. And despite our distance from Coleridge and John Stuart Mill and Arnold, their problems are still with us.

To set his book going, Mr. Willey felicitously quotes Mill's observation about the philosophy of Coleridge: that it expresses "the revolt of the human mind against the philosophy of the eighteenth century. It is ontological, because that was experimental; conservative, because that was innovative; religious, because so much of that was infidel; concrete and historical, because that was abstract and metaphysical; poetical, because that was matter-of-fact and prosaic." This contradiction between the ideas of the Enlightenment and those of conservative Romanticism is certainly central to the nineteenth-century mind, and the valuable service of the Victorian writers, who constituted a kind of second Enlightenment variously modified by Romanticism and resurgences of Christianity, is that they wilfully kept this complex of ideas alive. Those who regard this complex of ideas as still the proper burden of critics must feel continuously grateful to the Victorians—whose many real faults, by the way, we surely perceive well enough by this time. But they must also feel that Mr. Willey's knowing, urbane, and scholarly book makes too light of the contradiction with which it begins and shows an unfortunate relaxation of will and a blurring of intelligence.

Mr. Willey's intellectual commitment is to Christianity. His professed purpose is to study Coleridge, Thomas Arnold, Newman, Carlyle, Mill, George Eliot, and Matthew Arnold from the point of view of their religious and moral thought. These writers can be profitably studied in this way, and Mr. Willey treats both Coleridge and George Eliot with distinction, his chapters on George Eliot and the writers who influenced her —Comte, Hennell, Strauss, Feuerbach —testifying to the forcefulness we now seem to find in her work. There was, of course, a deeply sensed, if not really brilliantly spirited, stream of religious feeling in all, or nearly all, of these writers, and although it may at first annoy the reader to find Matthew Arnold discussed almost exclusively in relation to his religious books, these and analogous writings were a part of the culture of the time and have often been neglected.

But the critical test of Mr. Willey's method is his treatment of Mill, a man whom I think we all tend to have on our consciences these days. Mill's thought, says Mr. Willey, was "finally impotent." His mind was hopelessly at the mercy of a succession of influences; fearing tradition, he veered toward progressivism; fearing excessive individualism, he veered toward socialism; fearing the aridity of rationalism, he veered toward poetry; he was "joyless," an "ungifted Moses"; his eye was "lack-luster"; and his thought was "grey." This attitude toward Mill is certainly not more acceptable than Mr. Willey's judgment of Carlyle—that Carlyle, though not genuinely Christian, ought to be read because he was at least "religiose" and because he suggests to us that the "liberal ideas" can fully flourish only in religious soil.

Among the Victorians, it is Mill who tests the modern mind, and in relation to him at least two of its weaknesses come quickly to light. The first is its morose desire for dogmatic certainty. The second is its hyperaesthesia: its feeling that no thought is permissible except an extreme thought; that every idea must be directly emblematic of concentration camps, alienation, madness, hell, history, and God; that every word must bristle and explode with the magic potency of our plight. The first weakness makes us call Mill confused and patronize him for being faithful to nuance and for discriminating carefully among ideas. The

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second makes us call his thought grey or lackluster, forgetting that it is more important to ask whether it is true. Is the time at hand when thought itself, all thought, will be dismissed as "grey"?

There is nowadays a concerted polemic, in which the left has frequently joined with the right, against the kind of mind Mill eminently possessed—the sceptical, diverse mind which patiently accepts the galling contradictions of the time as the inescapable context of thought. Yet in this era of "broken lights," as Nietzsche called modern times, it is hard to discover any other kind of mind so genuinely concerned that ideas should continue to exist. That Mr. Willey has joined in this polemic is, I should say, a fair measure of the limitations of his book as a study of ideas.

RICHARD CHASE

Dr. Williams's "Paterson"

PATERSON (BOOK THREE). By William Carlos Williams. New Directions. $3.

THIS third book in Dr. Williams's projected long poem (the fourth and final book is promised "by 1951") is at first reading the most difficult of the three we now have, and at the eighth reading some details of structure and aspects of symbol remain unclear. Nevertheless, we can begin to perceive what will be the shape, scope, and texture of the finished work; this book helps greatly to expand and clarify a number of themes, heretofore obscure, in the first two books. When the three are read together in sequence, they reveal, through an interlacing of symbols and a thematic reference back and forth, a close and compact development. More than ever, it becomes apparent that Dr. Williams has in mind a whole, inseverable poem, not a discrete tetralogy, as many of those who reviewed the first two books were led to assume.

The meaning of the poem so far can best be elucidated by a compressed, doubtless defacing examination of its symbols. Paterson, then, is a city and also a man, a giant who lies asleep, whose dreams are the people of the city, whose history is roughly coterminous with, and equal to, the history of America. He is diseased with slums and factories and the spiritlessness of industrial society; his character—usually as observer—walks about, sometimes as a plain citizen, sometimes as a hero, often as "Dr. Paterson"—the poet himself. Beside Paterson lies a mountain, which is a woman, upon whose body grow trees and flowers, with the city park at her head. The city-man and mountain-woman are the two basic facts of the poem; they are activated by the four elements. A river, broken by a falls, flows between them, and has, beyond its obvious sexual meaning, the further significances of flowing time and of language, the fundamental or pre-mental language of nature. Earth is the speaker that knows this language, the "chatterer." Fire is the creative act, in love or art. Wind is, if my reading is correct, inspiration, the integrator, the carrier of sounds and smells. Though generally benign, these forces may be malevolent too, for fire, flood, cyclone, and earthquake all occur in this poem.

Another dichotomy of ideas, which is enforced upon these basic symbols, is that of marriage-divorce. As divorce is a principal symptom of social disorder, so it is also of historical disorder: man has been divorced from his beginnings, his sources. Dr. Williams also uses the word *blockage*: man has been blocked from an understanding of his real self in nature by the modern institutions of church, university, commerce, et cetera. Dr. Williams seems to be saying that the only way to escape these blocks is to ignore them, to sidestep them and experience marriage directly. Thus, in the river, it is the falls which is important, the present act and present moment which unite immediately the man and the woman, the city and the mountain, the "plunge" which "roars" now with a language that lies hidden in the past above and the future below.

This third book has been described by Dr. Williams as a search for a language. Yet much of it is spent in inveighing against what we ordinarily call language. The technical abstractions of scholarship are the poet's primary anathema, but he extends his disgust to include almost all human speech. "No ideas but in things," he says repeatedly—the Objectivist doctrine carried to its extreme. Abstract "meaning" is the enemy, "an offense to love, the mind's worm eating out the core." The dead authors in the library are "men in hell, their reign over the living ended," their thoughts trapped in a hull of inflexible, dead rhetoric. Even the poet's own work is suspect; at one point, he admonishes himself: "Give up the poem. Give up the shilly-shally of art."

This would seem to put the poet in a rather difficult spot, since there honestly isn't much reason to be writing a poem (much less to publish it) if one must write in a bad language. Dr. Williams's conclusions on this head are not so clear as one would wish, but he appears to be saying that the poet can resolve his difficulty through a doctrine of invention. The good language is the language of the river, articulated by the falls. The poet cannot hope to imitate the falls, but he can learn from it. By forgetting the past, by writing instantaneously, even carelessly, by grounding all speech firmly in natural objects, the poet can create a language in nature which is essentially an act, not a meaning—an act of love and union. By working constantly at a peak of inventiveness, he can elevate this language to a level of

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independence which is its own justification.

"Paterson," when it is finished, will make a great hunting ground for the explicators. There are virtually hundreds of symbols and allusions to be tracked down, related, explained—all of which will, if he sticks to his text, annoy Dr. Williams profoundly. Essays will be written, for instance, on the many uncomplimentary allusions, often devilishly hidden, to T. S. Eliot and his works. There will likewise be essays on the other writers mentioned (I detect Pound, Stevens, and perhaps others), on the various flowers, on the dog. Yet I should like to suggest one question to the explicators before they begin.

Perhaps I can put it best this way. Twenty-five years ago Eliot felt that he should explain some of the symbols and meanings of "The Waste Land" in accompanying notes; for Dr. Williams this is not necessary. We are better readers now. Furthermore, Dr. Williams's symbols are made from objects we all know, and the meanings assigned to them are drawn from a common fund of romantic ideas. But I think we should call on Dr. Williams for another kind of note—a definite note on prosody. He himself sees the trouble, and at one point he says to the reader, rather sharply: "Use a metronome if your ear is deficient, one made in Hungary if you prefer." I think he misses the mark, for any reader with an ear for poetry will easily discern Dr. Williams's astonishingly pure feeling for the rhythms of the American language. It is not meter that bothers me, but the line. These lines are not run over, in the Elizabethan sense; nor are they rove over, in the Hopkinsian sense; they are hung over, like a Dali watch. They break in the most extraordinary places, with no textual, metrical, or syntactical tension to help us over. If this is done for typographical effect, as it sometimes appears, it is inexcusable, for it interferes with our reading. If it is done to indicate a certain way of reading the poem, then we should be told what it is.

Dr. Williams has explained in the past that he uses this device of the short, oddly broken line to obtain the effect of speed in a lyric poem. But "Paterson," by a rough estimate, will be 5,000 lines long when it is finished. In such a large dose, the effect is, instead, limpidity, constantly bolstered by interjections and typographical waggeries; real power is seldom obtained.

Perhaps I am a dull reader; if so, these matters can be explained. And in fairness to me, they must be explained —if not by Dr. Williams, then by some modern prosodist sympathetic to Dr. Williams's method. The question of "Paterson's" value as poetry should at last put the critics face to face with the problems they have been dodging for twenty years: What kinds of lines and sentences does one put next to each other to create a long poem? Is it an arguable prosodic concept that the metrical beat, to the exclusion of the line, is the basic unit of poetry? What, precisely, has experimental technique added to our knowledge of ways to say our thoughts? HAYDEN CARRUTH

Analysis of Democracy

THE RAMPARTS WE GUARD. By R. M. MacIver. The Macmillan Company. $3.

THIS book enlarges upon the view of democracy offered by Professor MacIver in 1946 in "The Web of Government." The three parts of "The Ramparts We Guard" deal with the central quality of democracy and its susceptibility to misunderstanding, the position of democratic government in a world of violent change and disorder, and the nature of the attacks launched against it by the enemies within and without. New and particularly interesting material appears in the chapters entitled "The Peril of Group Anarchy" and "Descent to Anomy"; here is a clear account of how a society, or its individual members, may fall into a condition of chaos and despair, without morality, motivation, or even a sense of identity.

"Democracy is a *political* system that makes its leaders, its statesmen, its experts, responsible, directly or indirectly, for the way in which they conduct its business." And this responsibility is real as long as the opinion of the citizenry operates through the ballot. Capitalism and socialism, on the other hand, MacIver notes, are not essentially political systems but modes of social economy; they may be accepted, rejected, or combined according to the desire of the community. The people indicate their desire by choosing among the broadly divergent programs of political parties. Although these are not new ideas the author presents them lucidly and emphatically.

A first obstacle to complete agreement with MacIver's argument rests in the nature of his thinking; he is so eminently logical and categorical that he virtually excludes debate with those who wish to develop a somewhat different view of democracy. Thus, in a continu-

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ation of his long quarrel with Harold Laski, he rejects the idea of "economic" democracy. In one sense, MacIver is certainly right; semantic discrimination suggests that "democracy" in its present use is a political term. He is also open-minded: he sees that "concentration of economic power creates great inequality of opportunity, sustains conditions that are prejudicial to democratic ideals, and makes those who are dependent on or subservient to the powerful the instruments of the interests of the few, with little consideration for the welfare of the many." So far, so good, but he goes on to observe that ". . . this admission in no way justifies the conclusion that democracy is at the mercy of economic power." Unfortunately, a great many people feel that that very conclusion is being forced upon us; pure political democracy may succeed in remaining ideologically intact, but the area of its effective force seems to be shrinking noticeably.

Another difficulty lies in the author's avowed chief concern with "the interpretation of the essential character of democracy" and his "only occasional consideration" of "one kind of democracy, our own peculiar kind, with its particular inheritance . . ." These are critical days; a pragmatic choice based upon the lesson of immediate experience seems more necessary than the isolation of a pure culture. For example, Professor MacIver emphasizes the importance of public opinion and recognizes the enemy in monopoly, massive propaganda, and a controlled press. He does not, however, suggest what we most desperately need—criteria which will enable us to determine at what point public opinion is so infected by social disease that it can no longer perform its political function.

This book gives an excellent analysis of democracy within its own frame of reference but it does not offer a total picture. There are other approaches to these great problems of the world and the mind. Henry Adams, for instance, has called our attention to a distinguishably different kind of thinking in Francis Bacon, who "urged society to lay aside the idea of evolving the universe from a thought, and to try evolving thought from the universe."

G. LOUIS JOUGHIN

Art

WELDON KEES

RUMORS that *Life* was planning a spread on young American artists raised expectations, in some quarters, at least, of the laying of another massive journalistic egg. Yet surprises have, on occasion, taken place. The piece has now appeared (Nineteen Young American Painters, issue of March 20) and amply confirms the sourest anticipations. By any standards, this is pretty stale cake. For the "best" nineteen young painters that the magazine has dredged up, by way of inquiries to "the country's museums and art schools . . . of thirty-eight states"—what about the other ten?—are surely the counterparts of nineteen other young painters *Life* might have presented ten years ago. Nothing seems to have changed. What is significant and vital in recent art activity in this country—the emergence of a radical, original, and pervasive movement animated by abstract, fauve, expressionist, and surrealistic influences, which has had its most extreme expression in the work of such enormously influential men for young artists as Hans Hofmann, Jackson Pollock, Arshile Gorky, Willem de Kooning, and Richard Pousette-Dart—is here completely by-passed. It is as if one wrote an account of recent pictorial journalism without mentioning *Life* and its contemporaries.

What *Life* serves up, in general, is a cast of art-school medal-winners and housebroken scholarship perennials whose feet are firmly planted in the past and have taken root there. Here are "social protest" paintings of both the literal and fantastic varieties, figure paintings (". . . the young Americans, with a native love of natural forms behind them, have not entirely renounced the human figure," *Life* announces reassuringly), "American scene" canvases, both lyrical and grim, Braque's forms and colors watered down and poured into a landscape, an "enraged bull" out of Disney, and a number of abstractions and semi-abstractions notable for their tastefulness and timidity. "Are they signs of a new flowering of American art?" *Life* inquires. The answer is No; and the same answer will do nicely for the question: "Is *Life* seriously interested in art, whether by the young, the old, or the middle-aged?" Nineteen young artists of greater talent and adventurousness could easily have been discovered in a single county, with the application of a little knowledge or curiosity, or even the right address book, and a lot of time and money saved in writing to all those museums and art schools in thirty-eight states.

The Luce publications are scarcely in a position to become New York branches of *Cahiers d'Art*; the Museum of Modern Art, on the basis of its recent offerings, seems scarcely in a position to lay proper claim to its own title. Its current show of Charles Demuth (through June 11) is a matter of no surprise, after the Museum's open-

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armed welcome in the past to such men as Maurice Sterne, Sheeler, and Ben Shahn, and its reverence for cartloads of expendable young British and Italian painters. Indeed, Demuth is a figure of some stature beside the other artist singled out at this time for a retrospective—Franklin Watkins (also through June 11). The selection of Watkins may very possibly mark an all-time low in the Museum's strenuous grapplings with eclecticism. What next? A Winston Churchill retrospective?

Watkins, a fiercely academic artist whose career sums up with a thoroughness of definition all that is conventional and beside the point in modern painting, is a very rare species—a man drained of style, of commitment, of obsession, who presents, in spite of his occasional gestures of melodrama, a sensibility blank and impersonal as a sheet of glass. So blank is it, indeed, that this seems less a retrospective of one man than a run-of-the-mill group show of minor American painters out of the 1920's, assembled at one of the less forward-looking university museums; even the signature "Watkins" on all the canvases fails to convince. Whether he paints an admonishing angel, a still life, or Justice Owen J. Roberts, each manages to exude the identical degree of stiffness and consciousness of being a subject, a prop in a studio set-up. Demuth, on the other hand, was an artist of delicacy and charm whom the Museum has badly served by the crowded and inclusive character of the rooms given over to him. Demuth comes off best as an illustrator: his fairly uniform low pressure, fragility, and old maidishness were jolted more by his encounters with Zola, James, and Wedekind than by his brush with Cubism, which meant little more to him than as a superimposition. The show, unfortunately, puts too great an emphasis on his water colors of flowers, which are repetitious and cloying in the extreme; every last daisy, fuchsia, and tuberose is made room for. Any retrospective requires selection; and Demuth demands it. Other forces prevailed on this occasion.

There is little painting of our time to match the richness, sensuousness, and elegance of the last canvases of Arshile Gorky, at Kootz (through April 24). Throughout his career, terminated by the artist's suicide in 1947, Gorky seemed more than ordinarily marked by a struggle to get at his own identity; yet the constant complaint was made that this artist, though a born painter if ever there was one, was pinned in a vise constructed by Miró, Picasso, and Matta. In these final canvases, Gorky worked himself through these men to declare his own being unmistakably. In a catalog note which is a model of its kind, Adolph Gottlieb refers to these canvases as "true *alla prima* painting; the ultimate in craftsmanship in any period and any style." How severe a loss Gorky's death was to American painting is only now becoming clear; a forthcoming retrospective at the Whitney Museum should serve to confirm its extent. Perhaps Gorky, now that he is safely dead, will receive the recognition denied him when he was in a position to care.

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AMONG the additional new works produced by the New York City Ballet Company was William Dollar's "The Duel," which was given in much altered form by Les Ballets de Paris last fall, and which now, in restored form, again impressed one with its dance style freshly and imaginatively contrived and effectively used for its purpose. One of its values for me was that it brought Dollar himself back to the stage in a performance which confirmed my recollection of his remarkable qualities as a dancer. And there was a fine performance by Melissa Hayden.

Balanchine's "Pas de deux romantique" goes on for some time in the style of such pieces and then begins to exaggerate some of the movements, with comic effect that is sharpened by the Weber music they are done to. It is impossible for me to believe that Balanchine did not intend them to provoke the laughter they get—which some do believe. Janet Reed is brilliant whichever way one takes the piece.

And finally "Jones Beach," to the Berkshire Symphonies (dedicated to Koussevitzky) of a visiting young Dutch composer, Jurriaan Andriessen. The music of the three fast movements is engagingly—which is to say, not excessively—clever; the slow movement is, I am told, an *hommage* to Alban Berg in the form of variations on a theme from Berg's Lyric Suite, which I enjoyed less, but which impressed me especially with the authoritative competence that is conveyed by the entire work. Balanchine contrived a delightful and witty opening movement and a brilliant finale which showed what *he* could do with American lowbrow dancing; Robbins contributed a charming and amusing scherzo; and these framed a Balanchine slow movement—a quietly sustained slow-motion acrobatic adagio in a style like a serene clarification of the early acrobatic style of the pas de deux in "The Prodigal Son"—which is, like every Balanchine slow movement, one of the most beautiful things he has ever done.

The company, headed by Tallchief, Hayden, and Robbins, danced the fast movements brilliantly; and Tanaquil LeClercq's performance in the slow movement was another of the remarkable things she has done this year. When one thinks of the others—of her first entrance in "Illuminations" and the "Being Beauteous" episode, in which she exhibited a slow deployment of bodily configuration in quiet like Markova's, and in fact all the style and grandeur of a great ballerina; her performance in "Bourrée fantasque," in which she exhibited her gift for comedy; her performance in "Age of Anxiety," which amazed one with its tragic intensity—and when one remembers also what she has done in "Symphony in C," "The Four Temperaments," and "Orpheus," one realizes that they have revealed the technique, style, presence, and powers of expressive projection of one of the greatest dancers.

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I saw two more performances of "The Prodigal Son," at which I was aware of additional inadequacies that caused the work to have less impact than it had had in the 1929 Diaghilev production; and my impressions were confirmed by someone else who had seen that production. It was not, we agreed, merely that at City Center the work suffered from lack of the rich mounting and thorough preparation of the 1929 production; it also lacked the extraordinary glamorous presence and communicative intensity of Doubrovska and Lifar (Robbins communicated in activity—e.g., in the dance of defiance in the opening scene, the crawling return at the end—but not in repose—e.g., when watching the siren's dance). Also, the men in the Diaghilev corps had had a maturity and experience which the City Center youngsters didn't have; and this had resulted in the 1929 production having a weight which the City Center production lacked.

Fortunately, most of the audience had not seen the work in 1929 and were not aware of inadequacies and lessened impact now; and there were no troubling inadequacies in the other new works. Unfortunately, the excellence in the performances of the new works was achieved with rehearsal-time and first-line dancers taken from old ones, some of which were performed poorly. While I am at it I will add that in the last performances I attended Robbins and LeClercq were beginning to ham up "Bourrée fantasque" and Moncion to do the same with his encounter with the maidens in "The Firebird"; and I will venture the opinion that Moncion's recent experiments in make-up (eyes and lips) haven't been successful.

CONTRIBUTORS

W. H. AUDEN, poet and critic, has just published a volume of essays entitled "The Enchafèd Flood."

RICHARD CHASE, a member of the English Department at Columbia University, is the author of "Quest for Myth" and "Herman Melville: A Critical Study."

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Facts on Film

BY MARY ANNE GUITAR

THE recent commercial exploitation of documentary-film technique—the Hollywood cops-and-robbers chase filmed on recognizable terrain in natural light with untutored actors and an authoritative voice filling in the narration from above—has become as familiar, and exciting, as "The Perils of Pauline" of a past generation. Unfortunately, the average movie-goer does not appreciate the range, both in technique and content, of actual documentaries available in 16 millimeter but not shown in commercial houses.

The documentary-film field is immensely disorganized, with no access to Hollywood's concentrated methods of production, publicity, and distribution. We need more than one clearing house for information about documentaries. This column will attempt to simplify the problem of locating, selecting, and securing them. While it will often refer to documentary "classics," it will review new productions, sometimes focusing on a single topic such as housing or juvenile delinquency, and it will suggest ways of building a film program around available material. It will stress 16-millimeter productions, since these are most common.

There are five times as many motion-picture projectors outside theaters as inside them and a rich provision of stimulating documentary films. But documentaries are still not used as extensively as they might be, although hundreds of schools, churches, unions, libraries, political-action groups, and social organizations do employ them to dramatize an issue, highlight a campaign, or simply to start an argument. And there are 60,000 projectors now in use in the United States, the rate at which they are being purchased having skyrocketed since 1940. It may be debatable whether there will come a time when a motion-picture projector becomes standard home equipment, but more information about what's on film and how to get it would increase the desire to own or rent a projector.

What's available? There are documentaries on every conceivable subject—child care, the atom, geography, economics, psychiatry, conservation, race relations. Not all of them are expert. Many are not on an adult level. Some are earnest, pompous, humorless. But there are hundreds of delightful films which make use of the "fact" technique in an original way, creating a visually exciting exposition of important information.

How to get them? They can be rented from local libraries, universities, the government, producers, and distribution agencies—not to mention the public-relations and industrial concerns which put their "message" on film, and should be avoided. This column will tell you where to get recommended films and will list various distributors whose catalogs are fine source books.

How much do they cost? The average rental fee per ten-minute reel is $2 a day. The purchase price varies, however, and one film that runs eighteen minutes sells for $55 while another running twenty minutes costs $100. We will give rental and sale prices for every film recommended. Small shipping and insurance charges must be added to the rental bill.

How to see them? On your own projector, if you're fortunate enough to own one. If not, projectors can usually be rented in any community through libraries, schools, churches, or commercial agencies. Because many documentaries run less than half an hour, it takes three or four to make a satisfying evening.

If you do not own a projector, you can't just sit and wait for documentaries to come to you. Outside the large cities and academic centers it takes community action to get projectors in motion. Subscriptions to community film societies are usually reasonable. You might start your own neighborhood group. New York City's "Cinema 16," now in its third year, has 3,000 members who attend, one evening a month, a highly varied program of art, experimental, and documentary films. Fee: $10 annually.

Last year, three documentaries made history of a sort by receiving as much word-of-mouth publicity as Hollywood productions. In case you missed them, try to see "The Earth and Its Peoples," "Human Growth," and "The Quiet One."

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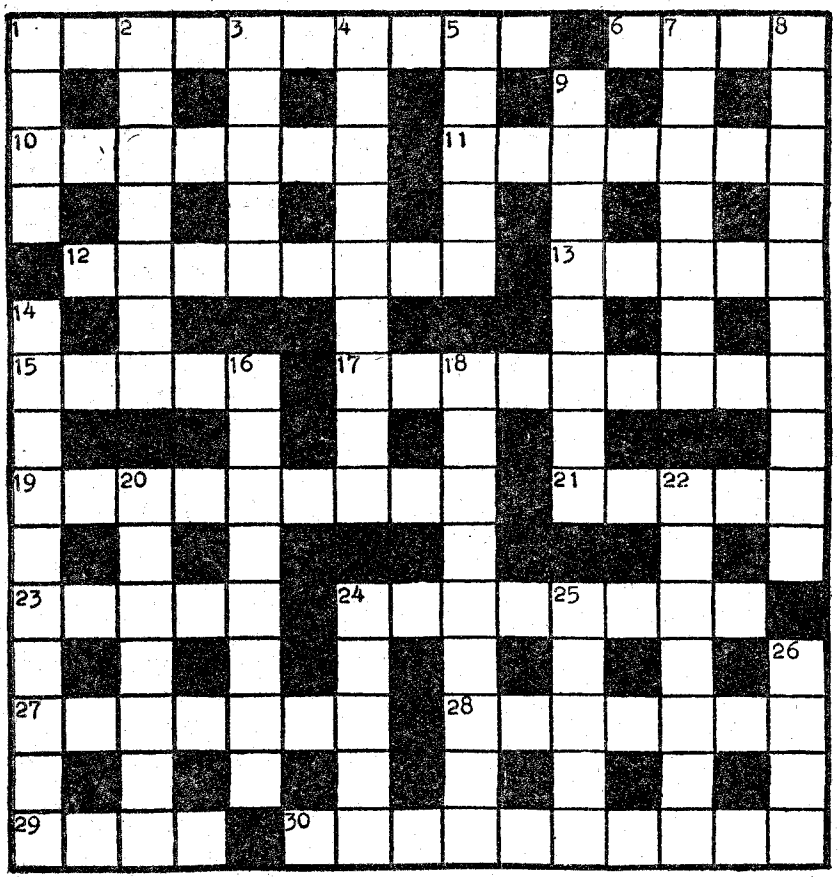
Crossword Puzzle No. 357

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Get on the east side of the river, impostor! (10)
6 It always starts a discussion. (4)
10 The comeback a fine beer makes. (7)
11 See 16.
12 See first 13.
13, 12. When ignorance is bliss. 5, 8)
13, 29, 22, 30, 28. Would this indicate that there are no 13 in 12? (5, 4, 2, 5, 6, 4, 2, 5)
15 Oily chunk of a whole iceberg. (5)
17 See 16 down.
19 It's made at a tender age. (9)
21 It collapses when Jack gets it. (5)
23 English school game. (5)
24 No information is. (4, 4)
27 Mrs. Oberon. (7)
28, 29 and 30. See second 13.

DOWN

1 See 18.
2 Promote. (7)
3 A lust for oil property here. (5)
4 A person crazy about a South American country. (6–3)
5 Mother of Pearl Crane. (5)
7 Abbr. (2, 5)
8 It's so derelict it should be protected. (10)
9 Forward as much? (8)
14 Penchant—he can. (10)
16, 11 across, 17 across. A waste of energy. (8, 5, 2, 9)
18, 1 down. Evidently a lateral miscalculation here. (4, 2, 3, 4)
20 Says not to get sane. (7)
22 See second 13.
24 Measure of a ring. (5)
25 Is aware of discordant tones. (5)
26 You can smell this kind of door. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 356

ACROSS:—1 JUDGE LYNCH; 6 UTAH; 10 SUMPTER; 12 ASSESSOR; 13 MOIST; 15 ABYSS; 17 INTERPRET; 19 BUCHAREST; 21 CREDO; 23 REIGN; 24 DAMOCLES; 27 OSPREYS; 28 ORLANDO; 29 EARL; 30 HYPERBOLAS.

DOWN:—1 and 11 JUST DESERTS; 2 DEMPSEY; 3 and 26 ENTRE NOUS; 4 and 7 YORKSHIRE TERRIERS; 5 CEDAR; 8 HESITATION; 9 ISOMERIC; 14 BARBER POLE; 16 SHAWNEES; 18 TOTEM POLE; 20 CLIPPER; 22 ETERNAL; 24 DUSTY; 25 CALEB.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

Louis de Rochemont's series of thirty-six films on "human geography" called "The Earth and Its Peoples" has been eagerly awaited because of De Rochement's wide experience with the "March of Time" and Hollywood semi-documentaries—notably "The House on Ninety-second Street." Some of the films in this series are now completed. Not all achieve the high standards hoped for, but all far exceed in human interest the general run of teaching films. One in particular is a truly fine job—"Nomads of the Jungle," the story of a Malayan family. These films run for twenty minutes, cost $100, and may be rented for $6 a day. Address inquiries to United World Films, 445 Park Avenue, New York City.

Eddie Albert's film on the development of the human body, "Human Growth," planned for fifth-to-ninth-grade children, became the subject of quite a controversy. Was it "suitable" for children? As a result, many adults saw the film. They found it a frank, unembarrassing, absorbing visualization of the process of human reproduction and growth. It is a color film, runs twenty-one minutes, rents for $7 a day from the New York University Film Library, and may be purchased for $175.

Warmly endorsed by psychiatric groups and film critics, "The Quiet One" deserves all the prizes it has won. It tells the story of a young Negro boy whose capacity to love suffers a crushing psychological blow; and how he is subsequently rehabilitated at a school for rejected children. Originally made in 16 millimeter, then released in 35 millimeter for commercial use, it is now available for general use in 16 millimeter. The running time is seventy minutes and the film can be rented for $40 a day. The distributor—Athena Films, 165 West Forty-sixth Street, N.Y.C.—will adjust fees in accordance with the type of audience and length of booking. To see "The Quiet One" is to understand John Grierson's definition of the documentary technique as "the creative interpretation of reality."

[Facts on Film by Mary Ann Guitar will be a regular feature in The Nation. *Miss Guitar is a free-lance writer with a special interest in documentary films.]*

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Letters to the Editors

A Nonessential Committee

Dear Sirs: I ask the privilege of your columns to present my reasons for trying to abolish the Joint Committee on Reduction of Nonessential Federal Expenditures, commonly known as the Byrd committee.

First, the Byrd committee violates the spirit and purpose of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. This act, streamlining and modernizing the committee system, was one of the great accomplishments of the Seventy-ninth Congress. It redefined the duties and functions of the committees and carefully delimited their jurisdiction. It also established the Standing House and Senate Committees on Expenditures in the Executive Department. These committees were given the "responsibility for studying the operation of government activities at all levels with a view to determining its economy and efficiency"—functions previously assigned to the Byrd committee. Thus the purpose and function of the Byrd committee were superseded by official standing committees of the House and Senate. It is my contention that since it duplicates the work of these standing committees, it wastes public funds.

Second, the Byrd committee has ceased to function as an active committee since 1946. The most positive proof of this is the admission by Senator Byrd on the floor of the Senate that his committee had not met in two years. Despite this fact, Congress has continued to appropriate funds that have been used by the committee to maintain a staff which issues press releases on statistical information obtained from government agencies, thus again duplicating work.

Those who rally to the defense of the Byrd committee do so apparently out of their desire to economize. I share that desire. I have strongly supported the Hoover Commission recommendations for the executive branch. What the Hoover Commission recommendations mean for the executive branch of government is exactly what the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 means for our legislative branch. And that is why I oppose the existence of the Byrd committee.

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Washington, March 18

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